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Bosnia-Hercegovina

TANJUG reports that Radovan Karadzic, president of the Serb Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina, "agreed to the proposal to demilitarize Sarajevo put forth by international mediators" at the recent talks in Geneva. Commenting on the talks, Karadzic said: "My optimism is based on the fact that the mediators did not try to impose any solutions, but took as their point of departure proposals made by the warring sides." He added: "It is bad, however, that the Muslim side is still not ready for direct talks, but the Croats' willingness is encouraging."

"Following their three-hour meeting behind closed doors at the United Nations," President Alija Izetbegovic and Croatian President Franjo Tudjman announced "that they were forming a joint military committee with the task, as they described it, of 'coordinating their defense efforts,'" TANJUG reports.

Yugoslavia

Federal—TANJUG reports that in an interview with MOSCOW NEWS, Prime Minister Milan Panic said: "Yugoslavia has no closer foreign-policy partner than Russia." Panic added that "he did not exclude the possibility for Yugoslavia to join in economic union with Russia." He noted: "I see myself as an anti-communist, but I have always had great sympathy towards the Russian people."

Czechoslovakia

According to Prague radio, the Federal Government "approved the bill on procedures for the division of Czechoslovak assets" between the Czech and Slovak Republics on a 2:1 ratio. "The fate of all the assets should be decided by the end of this year, with the stipulation that specific transfers should take place gradually."

Croatia

Zagreb radio carried statements by President Franjo Tudjman on the UN decision to suspend Yugoslavia's membership. Tudjman noted: "This is a very interesting precedent in international politics," and added: "The unity which produced this decision is surprising."

Poland

PAP reports that Foreign Minister Krzysztof Skubiszewski, speaking at a news conference in New York, "described Poland's relations with the United States as very good but stressed that Poland was now nobody's satellite and so was not the satellite of the U.S., the relations between the two countries being relations between partners." Skubiszewski added that "this did not mean there were not questions which needed sorting out," and he cited the "lack" of copyright protection in Poland.

Hungary

Polish Prime Minister Hanna Suchocka and Prime Minister Jozsef Antall held a news conference following joint talks in Budapest, MTI reports. The prime ministers said that "the most important goal of their countries is to become full members of the European Communities," and Antall noted that "it is important for the EC to precisely formulate the practical, legal, economic and political system of requirements for membership." The two prime ministers also "evaluated the Visegrad framework as an important forum of cooperation;" however, "according to the Hungarian position, the 'Visegrad Club' cannot be an alternative to the European integration organizations, the EC or the European Free Trade Association."

Prosecutor General Removed From Post

AU2309133992 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 1000 GMT 23 Sep 92

[Text] Regarding the case of Prosecutor General Maks Haxhia, the People's Assembly Presidency presented a statement in parliament yesterday saying that on the basis of information submitted by the chairman of the Democratic Party's parliamentary group, the People's Assembly of the Republic of Albania, in decision No. 231, dated 17 September, has decided to discharge Prosecutor General Mr. Maks Haxhia from his post for the following reasons: severe shortcomings, lack of objectivity, and unjustified sluggishness in the prosecution and investigation of the penal case involving servicemen from Sazan Island.

When a deputy asked Haxhia about the Fushe Arrez case [in which a large number of people died in a warehouse fire], he stated that it was being investigated and was close to conclusion. However, on the day the motion was presented, it emerged that investigations had just begun. Not only did Haxhia give inexact answers to many questions, he also twisted them.

He has committed acts contrary to Article 15 of Law No. 7561, dated 29 April, for some amendments in Law No. 7491, dated 29 April, on the main constitutional dispositions. Thus, he appointed people to the Vlore Prosecutor's Office whose appointment should have been made by decision of the High Council of Justice and not by him. In this case he abused the rights of the council. This is not all. In the [word indistinct], dated 2 September, in which these appointments were announced and which were signed by the prosecutor general, it stated that the appointments were made by decision of the High Council of Justice. The latter, in its report to the People's Assembly Presidency, explained that no decisions were made concerning these appointments and the statement in the letter signed by the prosecutor general does not correspond with the truth.

Meanwhile, we are informed that as Haxhia was leaving for France in his capacity as prosecutor general—although his mandate was abrogated by parliament—the forces of order arrested him as he was about to board the plane. The reason is already known: Charges had already been filed against him concerning falsification of a document relating to the appointment of a former state security officer as prosecutor in Vlore. To achieve this he used the seal of the High Council of Justice without having the right to do so.

Meksi: Kosovar Coexistence With Serbs 'Impossible'

AU2309153792 Tirana ATA in English 1101 GMT 23 Sep 92

[Text] Tirana, September 23 (ATA)—The goal of the visit of the Albanian Government delegation in Italy, Premier Aleksander Meksi said in an interview with the ATA reporter before leaving for Italy, is to define more clearly some economic-trade targets, as reactivation of the platform of cooperation in the field of investments through the Italian credit, which is not attained so far, and the food aid. As for investments, we will concentrate particularly on those of emergency. Here are included restructurings in agriculture, Tirana's supply with water, and reconstruction of the electric network of some of the main cities of the country. The list of priority objects to be realised through the Italian credit in construction, industry, agriculture, health sector, and transport will be drafted and we shall make efforts to increase the value of this credit, of which we have talked in preliminary negotiations. We would like, Premier Meksi stressed, to increase the figure of $120 million, which we have agreed upon. The supply of Italy with water from Albania, the export of electric energy, and oil researches are some of the questions we will tackle within the course of this visit. Italy, the premier pointed out, is one of the main partners of Albania. In general, economic political matters of bilateral interest for the present and the future will be the focus of the negotiations. [passage indistinct]

Speaking about the crisis in former Yugoslavia, Premier Meksi stressed that the conflict in Kosovo is a political conflict and is the conflict of the impossible coexistence with the occupiers. It is a conflict between the free observation of self-determination in peaceful way and hegemonic refusal of this realisation. The Albanian party will raise its voice and ask again from the international community to coordinate the actions for a stable solution acceptable to all the parties. Albania, he said, values the great contribution UNO [UN organization] will make to the solution of this crisis and believes that the London conference, as the newest and more complete initiative, will be able to assure the political commitment of the parties. The Yugoslav crisis is a crisis of some peoples who cannot live under the Serb hegemony and not crisis of republics or constitutions. The Republic of Albania upholds that the United Nations, with their irreplaceable contribution, will influence to guarantee the triumph of reason over passions and it will adopt all necessary measures to assure the application of the decisions they adopt.

Over the stay in New York, the premier said in conclusion, we shall contact delegations of various countries, meet with the state department and senior officials for the U.S.A.-Albania relations, with representatives of diaspora, with businessmen.

Investment Agreement Signed With Swiss Council

AU2309064692 Tirana ATA in English 1741 GMT 23 Sep 92

[Text] Tirana, September 23 (ATA)—On September 22 the Government of the Republic of Albania and the Swiss Federal Council signed in Tirana the agreement to jointly stimulate and defend investments.

For the Albanian party the agreement was signed by the deputy minister of foreign trade and economic cooperation, Naske Afezolli, and for the Swiss party by the

undersecretary of state for foreign economic relations at the Federal Ministry of Economy, Silvio Arioli. The signing of this agreement will serve the strengthening of economic cooperation of mutual interest, creating and maintaining favourable conditions to defend foreign investments.

Berisha Assures Businessmen of 'Full Support'

AU2309063992 Tirana ATA in English 1718 GMT 23 Sep 92

[Text] Tirana, September 23 (ATA)—At an encounter with Albanian businessmen on September 22, President Sali Berisha said that the only antidote of the dilapidated Albanian economy is the development of private sector and privatization of economy. Attending this meeting was also the minister of trade and foreign economic relations, Artan Hoxha, and representatives of investments, privatization agencies and financial police. President Berisha called on the government to set up privatization of the state farms and enterprises, which now are damaged seriously. They can survive, underlined the president, only by means of privatization, which unfortunately is delayed and is putting up disorders in our reform.

He also tackled with delay in the process of privatization in the food stuff industry and that of construction.

Then President Berisha dwelt on the creation of small-size enterprises and the development of private business. "Contrary to the privatization of state economy, private business is developing at very speedy rates and this due to your endeavours and energy, and no doubt you deserve the admiration of the whole society," said Mr. Berisha addressing the representatives of businessmen.

To this end he brought also arguments in so far as percentage of fulfillment of Albanian export-import is concerned, the supply of market with industrial items, and the employment of hundreds of thousands of people, who are better paid than the government pays its clerks.

Then President Berisha spoke on the numerous hardships facing the Albanian businessmen in an isolated Albania, without financial support, and even with few chances to get visa. He also spoke on some obstacles facing them in the official activities, the laws and administrative action. "This, said president, creates the impression that not rarely it is operated in such a way as not to help the people get rich, but to hinder them on this road." Consequently he laid the need on "reviewing the taxes and taxation policy in general."

In closing President Berisha told the businessmen: "You are and will be the powerful support of democracy, despite your party belongings. That is why I assure you of my full support."

New Traders Introduce 'Elements of Capitalism'

AU1909163692 Tirana ATA in English 0813 GMT 19 Sep 92

[Text] Tirana, September 19 (ATA)—17,125 trucks with commodities have entered Albania during January-July period this year, testifying to the new image of the development of trade under the new circumstances of market economy. 80 percent of them carried commodities for the Albanian traders and only 20 percent transported export goods.

The shipments of the new Albanian merchants, mainly food and industrial items, show that they are contributing to the consolidation of trade and direct relations of the market economy in Albania. In the meantime, 683 ships and 1,472 aircrafts are added to the number of these trucks carrying different cargoes.

The approval of the Law on the Customs' Houses and on the Taxes on Circulation has encouraged this activity, which has brought about an increase of incomes from taxes on circulation for January-July period. Albanian traders are operating mainly with imported goods, something which puts them on unfavourable positions in a field with little experience.

Waiting for the beginning of the work and production in the country, the new traders, through their efforts, along the means of livelihood for themselves, are giving the first lecture on introducing the elements of capitalism in Albania, and currently it is the customs' that open the door to capitalism.

Bill on Dividing Federal Property Approved

LD2309171792 Prague Stanice Ceskoslovensko Radio Network in Czech 1600 GMT 23 Sep 92

[Text] The Federal Government today approved the bill on procedures for the division of Czechoslovak assets between the [Czech and Slovak] republics. Miroslav Dittrich has the details.

[Dittrich] The basic principle is the division of assets in tangible volumes with the exception of concrete financial commitments, the territorial principle, or the 2:1 ratio, meaning Czech Republic 2, Slovakia 1. The division concerns both funds and properties, including assets abroad. There will be no special stipulations for the division of the Army and of the departments under the Ministry of the Interior. The fate of all the assets should be decided by the end of this year, with the stipulation that specific transfers should take place gradually. After the dissolution of the common state, the division will be supervised by a commission composed of representatives of both newly-formed states.

The bill on the division of the federation property also includes the so-called blocking article [blokacni paragraf]. Premier Strasky said that this:

[Begin recording, in progress] ...in the event of the adoption of the bill in this form, commits federal bodies to refrain from any manipulation with federal property until the end of this year beyond the framework of the sphere which is legally defined as the sphere of the ordinary course of management, with the exception of the implementation of the law on the division of powers which, as you now, is being discussed by the Federal Assembly, with the exception of privatization, and with the exception of what is the content of this bill. [end recording]

[Dittrich] So much from Premier Strasky. Tomorrow, the bill on the procedures for the division of the federation property will be submitted to the governments of the Czech Republic and the Slovak Republic. This does not mean, however, that the national governments will be receiving a draft they know nothing about. As Vice Premier Rudolf Filkus said, individual members of the Federal Government have been holding simultaneous consultations on this bill with representatives of the republican governments.

The Federal Government today also recalled Jan Carnogursky from the post of head of the Czechoslovak delegation for talks on the Gabcikovo-Nagymaros hydroproject, and appointed Peter Baco, minister of food and agriculture of the Slovak Republic, to this post.

Foreign Policy Guidelines Outlined

LD2309182492 Prague Stanice Ceskoslovensko Radio Network in Czech 1600 GMT 23 Sep 92

[Excerpts] [Announcer] The Czech government met for its regular meeting in Prague today. Zdena Balcarova reports on the meeting.

[Balcarova] This is an important day in the life of our ministry since its organizational shaping has been completed and the framework for Czech foreign policy has been discussed, said Josef Zieleniec, minister for foreign relations of the Czech Republic, at a press conference this afternoon. This framework which embodies basic strategy, points of departure, and aims of Czech foreign policy after the division of Czechoslovakia into two independent states should be discussed by the Czech National Council in the following days.

Answering a Czechoslovak Radio question on the strategy of Czech foreign relations, Minister Josef Zieleniec and Premier Vaclav Klaus said:

[Begin recording] [Zieleniec] The constituent pillars of Czech foreign policy are, first of all, good relations with neighbors, search for and implementation of a correct and well-balanced relationship with Germany—this will become in the near future one of the most important points of Czech foreign policy—then settlement of relations with Slovakia, so that we can link up with the coexistence of these nations in the past 74 years and ensure that these are relations of friendliness and close cooperation in all areas.

Relations with the major powers are also very important. Our country, which does not rank among the largest, must take care to nurture good relations with all major powers, with Britain, France, the United States, and Russia. These are the main pillars on which we will build our foreign policy in the future.

[Klaus] We are aware of what are the main pillars, what are the objectives, what are the methods, what is being emphasized, etc. I think that it is very nicely expressed in that document. I think that there are two things worth mentioning. There is emphasis on the fact that we are well aware that the easy period of foreign policy after 17 November 1989 is over. In relations toward us, the clear and logical interests of our partner countries have started to become prominent. In the document approved by the government the emphasis is put quite correctly on a very relevant order of priorities, on the basic principles that our foreign policy should adopt when looking at ourselves and at the world around. Those principles are our own economic and strategic interests on the one hand, and the interests of our security on the other. It is clear that in the former area [as heard], in the previous, easier period which was dominated by the fear of the still existing Russian threat, the roles could have been reversed to a certain extent. It is correct that the Czech foreign policy as defined by the ministry of Minister Zieleniec prioritizes matters in the above-mentioned order. [end recording]

[Announcer] [passage omitted] Of the eight other points on the government's agenda today, the interesting point was the information that proposals have been approved for a direct sale of 37 more state companies.

15 Sep SMENA Responds to Meciar Claims

AU2209113892 Bratislava SMENA in Slovak 15 Sep 92 pp 1, 4

[Article by SMENA Chief Editor Karol Jezik: "Agreement on the Horizon?"]

[Excerpts] In his interview for the Radio Journal on Friday, 11 September, Slovak Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar once again, after one month and four days, returned to the issue of the SMENA shareholding company: "We carried out an inquiry into the attempt to establish the SMENA shareholding company. We found out that, in spite of a government resolution [to the contrary] and without a government resolution, Messrs. Carnogursky and Porubjak issued an order to change the government resolution without the government's approval. This means that a government resolution had been falsified. No matter what an independent air SMENA is giving itself, we found out that [former Public Against Violence leadership member and deputy] Mrs. Zuzanka Mistrikova was to become the tenured chief of the shareholding company. We have ascertained attempts to make SMENA a successor to the daily VEREJNOST. Furthermore, we have ascertained attempts at an unauthorized management of property by trying to transfer property of the state into private hands. Despite protestations by the SMENA chief editor that they [members of the SMENA editorial and managerial staff] only wanted 0.1 percent of the shares, there are papers signed by him in which he asked for 70 percent or even 75 percent, to be accurate. This puts everything into a different perspective. Let SMENA write as it pleases, but it cannot dispose of the state's property as it pleases."

It should perhaps be stated that the SMENA shareholding company still has not come into being. The 0.1 percent participation was the last proposal approved by the limited liability company made up of the daily's editorial and managerial staff. I could not have possibly protested that we wanted this share because our wishes were irrelevant. The necessity decided. Although I do not recall a piece of paper in which I expressly demanded 75 percent, I do not rule out its existence. I say frankly that there even were times when we considered a 100 percent ownership [of the daily SMENA]. Why not? Quite many other newspapers and journals from the whole of the CSFR set a precedent for us in this regard. The fact is that, compared to them, we look like amateurs. We complied with laws and regulations and, what is more, on our own initiative we even complied with the principles of entrepreneurial ethical self-regulation.

I am not aware of any plan, as far as SMENA is concerned, to transfer state property without authorization into private hands. I agree with the prime minister in that one has to pay. Property must not be acquired in any other way.

Zuzanka, that is, Miss Mistrikova, has, according to my information, already renounced her membership on the Board of Directors of the SMENA shareholding company. She can only be replaced by a person nominated by the Slovak Child and Youth Foundation, as is explicitly stated in the founding charter. But even a new person will not obtain a tenured position. That is simply an illusion.

If the incumbent prime minister claims that his predecessor had falsified a government resolution, such a claim should not just stay in the air, or in a newspaper. This accusation is so serious that a court should deal with it. The citizen might otherwise think that he does not live in a law-governed state but in an amusement park.

We would also like very much to find out who it was that wanted to turn our newspaper into a second VEREJNOST, that is, to misuse SMENA. We will very gladly publish the names because we cherish our independence more than anything else. [passage omitted]

The question of who gave his vote to the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia and Vladimir Meciar is not relevant. Whether he wants it or not, the prime minister simply is the prime minister of all citizens of Slovakia and should not be informed one-sidedly. We will be very glad if he lends his ear also to us, in connection with the preparation of the SMENA shareholding company. We have time, let us not rush things. We realize this when we follow the steps of the Slovak Government. Sometimes the best weapon is an unsaid word.

Carnogursky Criticizes Meciar Government

AU2309122392 Bratislava SMENA in Slovak 19 Sep 92 p 7

[Interview with Christian Democratic Movement Chairman Jan Carnogursky by Marian Bednar and Robert Kotian; place and date not given: "We Are Slovak Patriots"]

[Text] There are not many Slovak politicians as unpopular as Jan Carnogursky. Also, there is no politician who cares less about popularity than he does. A Slovak politician brooding over 1,000 years of history and adopting political priorities that go beyond Slovak political reality is a rarity. This is why—but not the only reason—the interview with Jan Carnogursky is (likely) to be the last but one of our post-elections interviews. Today, we are speaking about sovereignty, the future, and the past of Slovakia with former Prime Minister Jan Carnogursky, chairman of the Christian Democratic Movement [KDH].

[SMENA] Based on the public opinion polls, the KDH was seen as an undisputable winner in the elections. Two years later, the KDH won only few percent in the parliamentary elections. What is the reason for such a large percentage shift, in your opinion?

[Carnogursky] To complete your statement, we must mention that the winners of the first elections [after

November 1989], the Public Against Violence movement and the Civic Forum, do not exist today. Solidarity in Poland had to face the same fate, and in Hungary, we can see a similar critical position of the Hungarian Democratic Forum....etc. If the KDH followed the I-will-promise- anything-to-anyone line, then it would have ceased to exist in 1992.

[SMENA] You said: "Promise anything to anyone". The KDH, too, had its period in which it swerved from side to side. Was it caused by internal differences that were solved when the Slovak Christian Democratic Movement split off?

[Carnogursky] It was SMENA said that the KDH policy was swerving from side to side. I do not believe that. I understood it as SMENA's lack of experience with analyzing domestic political problems. The KDH was searching for Slovakia's optimal position, not only regarding the constitutional arrangement. During the searching process we dealt with several alternatives, from which we pushed for the most appropriate one. Our search for alternatives has never lacked a concept or ideas. We wanted Slovakia's emancipation process to be in full harmony with integration tendencies in Europe.

[SMENA] SMENA has analyzed and given the name to this concept many times. The thing is, however, that the said concept was unsuccessful. Do the evolution theories that anticipate a longer time for their own implementation have a chance to be at all meaningful to people in a critical and transitional period?

[Carnogursky] You are right, the concept failed. Your question is fully justified. The KDH's sticking to principles means that we do not calculate only with the number of the votes we should win. While the For a Democratic Slovakia Movement's [HZDS] hasty initiatives are very likely to lead Slovakia into isolation, the KDH's evolution line still has its social and political significance.

[SMENA] Despite the fact that the HZDS line is lacking a concept, it will not result in an immediate shock that will awaken the whole of society overnight. The process of critical evaluation by people will be very slow. Are you afraid that you will lose a lot of blood politically before the people realize the negative situation?

[Carnogursky] Under certain circumstances such bleeding would be even better than jumping on the HZDS bandwagon, which leads Slovakia into a disaster. Let us have a look at the former parties of the National Front. By jumping on the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia's political line, they were able to survive at the subsistence level, but it was practically their political end. Your question rises another question: If the KHD bled to death, who would cover its part in the political spectrum, that is, right of center?

[SMENA] This is no problem. The Slovak Christian Democratic Movement is vehemently trying to take your place. They are constantly expressing no-confidence in your party in the name of the Christian community, and, in addition to that, their steps are strongly supported by the HZDS.... They will take over your place by using the national idea....

[Carnogursky] The Slovak Christian Democratic Party is behaving as the National Front parties did after 1948. They exist thanks to HZDS support.

[SMENA] Yet, this does not change anything about the fact that they will take your place.

[Carnogursky] Only for the period of the HZDS' leading role.

[SMENA] It is impossible to doubt the fact that Slovakia is close to your heart. Slovakia is a project you spoke about when one Slovak politician wanted to force Slovakia into a federation. What are the feelings of a man whose father was a member of the Slovak State Assembly, who dreamed about such a period, and who eventually voted against the Slovak Republic Constitution?

[Carnogursky] Just because Slovakia's independence is an important matter; I am aware of the fact that such a declaration can do more harm than good to Slovakia. The declaration of independence in 1939 ensured Slovak statehood for only six years, but the accusation of having cooperated with the fascist regime lasted half a century. Maybe, this experience in our family determines my attitudes. It cautions me to be more vigilant. Slovakia can keep its independence only if it is a democratic country comparable with other European countries. We only have to compare the KDH and the HZDS behavior to have a clear idea of who is closer to European standards on the basis of which it would be possible to maintain Slovakia's independence.

[SMENA] Words about the prospects of independence—just when it seems that we are heading toward independence at this very moment—cannot reach general public. For the HZDS, it is the present time and their election term that matters. Europe perhaps likes it, too. It is not certain that the Europe you are talking about has adopted exactly your opinion....

[Carnogursky] Certainly, for Europe, it is more important what will happen in the weeks and months to come. However, Europe will not live our lives, we alone will have to muddle through. Just because of that we must be concerned with the years to come. In the KDH, there are many people who were members of a clandestine church before 1989. This is why we have a better knowledge of facts and a more correct perception of the future, and we do not overestimate the current circumstances. Thanks to this attitude of ours, we were able to resist the lures of the communist power. We are warning against adopting the declaration of independence without explicit approval of the people, in case our ability to face difficulties linked to independence wanes. As soon as the Slovak Republic becomes reality, we will do everything to minimize the risks the nation will have to face. We feel we are be Slovak patriots, and we are willing to work for

the Slovak Republic. We are going to do it efficiently, based on our current attitude.

[SMENA] We are not questioning the fact that you will make sacrifices more easily than those who are responsible for this development. However, how much does the Slovak public accept the KDH's ideas, in Your opinion? Do you have a feeling that the KDH, is only yourself, in fact?

[Carnogursky] I do not have that feeling. It is not a question of feelings. At the very moment, I am not so much interested in whether Slovakia accepts positively our way of thinking or not. It is simply a reality, and we must offer, as opposed to Meciar, ways to neutralize possible crisis situations.

[SMENA] Your entire strategy is reminiscent of the concept dissidents used to fight against power. It is as if you anticipated that the HZDS would change into a new state-party, a party that would have to face a new November [reference to the revolution in 1989]. It that an obsolete way of thinking?

[Carnogursky] This would be a worse case, but the KDH does not rule it out. This means that not even a new November seems to be out of the question. Of course, a better alternative is also possible: The HZDS will become a democratic party, and in this case, the KDH strategy, too, will be subordinate to the parliamentary system and elections.

[SMENA] The Slovak Republic Constitution should become a fundamental pillar of democracy in Slovakia. Its adoption was preceded by the Declaration of Sovereignty. You adopted an unequivocally negative standpoint on both documents. Now, after some time has elapsed, could you tell us what your reasons were?

[Carnogursky] Despite the fact that the declaration contained only the facts that are already included in the CSFR Constitution, its political significance paved the way for Slovakia to head for the violation of the current constitutional situation. The atmosphere surrounding the Declaration was supposed to start nationalist and political waves on the basis of which an independent and totalitarian state could be established. By our vote, we have drawn attention to the danger intrinsically present in future development. I believe we have saved some space for freedom and democracy is Slovakia. The Slovak Constitution is not internally compact, which does not fully ensure functional behavior of the Slovak Republic's bodies in critical situations. The document provides for possibility of violating the rights and freedoms of the people, and sets conditions for establishing an authoritarian regime in Slovakia. Moreover, it gives the Czech Republic an advantage, since, in view of temporary regulations, Slovakia is the first to have violated the valid constitutional status.

[SMENA] We only partially touched on the risks that Slovakia may have to undergo. How do you, specifically, perceive them?

[Carnogursky] They are, at least, in the sphere of economy. It can be expected that foreign countries' interest in trade with Slovakia will fall. Even now, some enterprises have received announcements from abroad, stating that negotiations have been discontinued. Unemployment will rise because of that, which can lead to social unrest. In contrast to the HZDS, which threatened my government with social unrest, we will try to ease social tension using our contacts with foreign countries. This means that we will try to stabilize the independent Slovakia.

[SMENA] Even if it stabilizes Meciar's government?

[Carnogursky] To answer your question means to apply dialectics that all the graduates from the communist universities have mastered, including myself. According to KDH dialectics, the stabilization of Slovakia will mean stabilization of Meciar's government, but only up to certain limits. These limits are the extent of the government's alienation from the people. Up to this limit, we will not mind if Meciar's government is also stable. I am taking the liberty to show another example of dialectics: The public is presented with the opinion that the Slovak Heritage Foundation and the HZDS are the promoters of Slovakia's good reputation abroad, while it is the KDH attitude that is widely accepted there.

[SMENA] Some representatives of the Slovak political scene are justifying the disintegration of the CSFR by Czech separatism. Is it possible to infer that you have incorrectly interpreted the signals issued from and attitudes adopted by the Civic Democratic Party shortly prior to the elections? You took your steps accordingly....

[Text] [Carnogursky] Our strategy was not influenced by the Civic Democratic Party, and it was influenced by the HZDS strategy only to a minimal extent. We had established the KDH political line only on the basis of our knowledge and evaluation of Slovakia. The Civic Democratic Party's and the KDH's positions, all of them, seem short-lived to me and shortsighted, too. I appreciate Vaclav Klaus, who is heading the Civic Democratic Party, as an expert economist, but it is obvious that he lacks a historical dimension. Despite the fact that his policy is effective in the short term, it is a time bomb. In the longer run, his party may face the same fate as the Civic Forum.

[SMENA] When stressing the historical dimension, it seems as if you were expecting the people to be in such a mood as to accept it. Is your standpoint a little erroneous?

[Carnogursky] I admit that it is my mistake that I underestimate political interests at this very moment. It would be good if in the leadership of a political party there were people not only with a historical dimension, but also normally pragmatic people.

[SMENA] Do you have a feeling that your brother Ivan is the Achilles heel of your policy?

[Carnogursky] No. In a certain sense we are complementing one another. All that Ivan has acquired was acquired legally. I have never tried to push him through, but when he had gained the confidence of others, then I had no reason to go against him.

[SMENA] What are the reasons for your unpopularity?

[Carnogursky] Someone impartial could give you a full and complete answer. I do not offer fast and problem-free solutions to people, if I know there are none. I consider some matters as matters of principle, disregarding the opinion of the majority.

[SMENA] Is it impossible for politics to adjust to the truth?

[Carnogursky] There are examples in history showing that lying by politicians is quite functional. Themistocles at Salamina bribed Greeks and deceived them by providing them false information about Persians, and because of that, he won the battle. In this way, he changed the course of European history.

[SMENA] An independent intellectual should be entitled to have your attitude—ignoring the majority and their interests—but not a politician who is fighting for power day after day. In this way, you are being negatively perceived by your milieu....

[Carnogursky] But not by myself and certain others in my milieu.

Firm Fined for Croatian Helicopter Shipment

AU2409124692 Prague CSTK in English 1740 GMT 22 Sep 92

[Text] Prague [dateline as received] — A fine of 20 million crowns (70,000 USd [United States dollars]) has been imposed by the Czechoslovak Customs Administration on the Ikona Frydlant firm from North Bohemia which imported to Czechoslovakia five Soviet military helicopters MI 8 without a license, press spokesman for the Czechoslovak Foreign Trade Ministry Andrej Surnak told CSTK today.

According to unofficial sources, the helicopters were to have been sold to Croatia.

Ministry Official Releases Foreign Trade Statistics

AU2309142392 Prague METROPOLITNI TELEGRAF in Czech 19 Sep 92 p 2

[Unattributed report: "With Whom Do We Trade Most?"]

[Text] Brno—CSFR Deputy Foreign Trade Minister Lubomir Martak gave a briefing on developments in the Czechoslovak foreign trade. Czechoslovak exports over the first seven months of the year totalled $6.2 billion, and the largest share went to the FRG (30.1 percent). The CIS share dropped to a mere 13.3 percent. Approximately 50 percent of Czechoslovak exports went to the EC countries. During the same seven months, Czechoslovak imports reached $5.9 million. Imports from the CIS rank first (29.4 percent), followed by the FRG (23.9 percent). Austria has 9.1 percent share of the imports. Foreign trade showed a $0.3 billion surplus over the first seven months of the year.

Polish Premier Sees Two-Tiered Visegrad Relations

AU2409091092 Budapest MTI in English 1328 GMT 22 Sep 92

[Text] Budapest, 22 Sep (MTI)—Polish Prime Minister Hanna Suchocka sees no possibility to carry out the planned free trade agreement of Hungary, Czechoslovakia and Poland on a multilateral basis.

"I have in mind two-tier relations within the Visegrad group", Suchocka told Tuesday's [22 September] MAGYAR HIRLAP, prior to her Wednesday visit to Hungary.

"The first tier would be for political coordination, and the second for economic cooperation. I shall discuss in Budapest how Hungarian-Polish bilateral links will be under the Visegrad scheme. I think we have to conclude separate free trade agreements with Czechoslovakia and Hungary", Suchocka said.

Asked with which country this seems easier, the Polish prime minister said, "first of all, Hungary is an existing partner, while Czechoslovakia can sign accords as an independent state only from next January. So I think the agreement will come quicker with Hungary."

Answering a question about possible venues of intense bilateral cooperation, Suchocka said, "before I was appointed prime minister, I had worked for various international organizations, and gained very good experience in cooperation with Hungarians, for instance in the Council of Europe.

"When Poland was admitted to the Council of Europe, the Hungarian group was the first to offer official cooperation. We also work together in the CSCE in the field of minority protection."

Antall, Suchocka Discuss Regional Cooperation

LD2309184992 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1000 GMT 23 Sep 92

[Text] How will the joint march continue toward the EC? What chances are there for the earlier determined regional cooperation? These were the primary issues that were discussed by Prime Ministers Hanna Suchocka and Jozsef Antall.

As far as regional cooperation is concerned, the planned Hungarian-Polish-Czechoslovak free trade zone is for the time being rather bilateral only; it is formed on Hungarian-Polish bases. The separation of the Czechs and Slovaks somewhat paralyzes multilateral discussions.

In spite of this, nobody wants to bury regional cooperation, the Visegrad initiative. Czechoslovakia's division will have to be handled somehow. If possible, both successor countries, in other words Slovakia as well, will have to be fitted into the Visegrad cooperation.

Polish-Hungarian cooperation, incidentally, was expanded today with new legal frameworks. In the presence of Jozsef Antall and Hanna Suchocka, an agreement on investment protection between the two countries and a double taxation agreement were signed. After this it is up to the businessmen to breathe life into the ailing economic relations.

CSFR Problem Reviewed

LD2309185792 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1400 GMT 23 Sep 92

[Text] If the trilateral Czechoslovak-Polish-Hungarian talks do not lead to results, a bilateral Hungarian-Polish agreement on a free-trade zone has to be signed in November in Krakow. This was decided by Jozsef Antall and Hanna Suchocka at their meeting in Budapest today. All this does not mean the end of the Visegrad cooperation. Although the divided Czechoslovakia is unable to take part in substantial decisions at the moment, later the two independent countries, hopefully, will again join the process of integration. In any case, it is a common interest that Slovakia should not be isolated, should not stay outside. However, as Jozsef Antall, with the agreement of Mrs. Suchocka, expounded, the Visegrad cooperation in the future will be a kind of political club of cooperation and information without bureaucratic institutions. The specific agreements will be concluded bilaterally.

Press Briefing Held

LD2309190892 Budapest MTI in English 1800 GMT 23 Sep 92

[Text] Budapest, September 23 (MTI)—Both Budapest and Warsaw consider it important to boost cooperation and trade. The idea of setting up a joint bank, and the plan to have the free trade agreement come into force early next year, both serve this end.

The above was reported at the joint press conference of Hungarian Prime Minister Jozsef Antall and Polish Prime Minister Hanna Suchocka, in Budapest on Wednesday [23 September].

The Hungarian prime minister recalled that Hungarian-Polish economic relations did not keep up with political cooperation. The value of bilateral goods turnover declined by 30 per cent alone in 1991, due to the switch to dollar accounting.

The prime ministers said the most important long-term goal of their countries is to become full members of the European Communities.

In this context, Antall considered it important for the EC to precisely formulate the practical, legal, economic and political system of requirements for membership. This could help to avoid the frequently contradictory predictions from appearing regarding the possible date of full membership, he said.

Hungary considers political coordination and security cooperation to be important even prior to full membership, Antall said.

As regards relations between the two countries, both prime ministers evaluated the Visegrad framework as an important forum of cooperation. They agreed that institutionalization and red-tape should be avoided by both sides.

According to the Hungarian position, the "Visegrad Club" cannot be an alternative to the European integration organizations, the EC or EFTA [European Free Trade Association].

The prime ministers also agreed that cooperation should be continued even after the separation of Czechoslovakia. In this context, Hanna Suchocka said Warsaw strives for equally good relations with both Bohemia and Slovakia, and as a side free from national minority problems, it can have beneficial effects on the development of the Hungarian-Slovak relation.

During the day, Hanna Suchocka placed a wreath at the Memorial of Hungarian Heroes in Budapest's Heroes' Square, and met with representatives of Poles living in Hungary.

Jeszenszky on Friendly Ties With Serbia

LD2309203892 Budapest MTI in English 1551 GMT 23 Sep 92

[Text] New York, 23 September (MTI)—Hungary is interested in fostering friendly relations with Serbia, and in the peace and stability of the region, Hungarian Foreign Minister Geza Jeszenszky said in New York, in the course of his talks with Yugoslav Foreign Minister Ilija Djukic.

At the meeting, held during the 47th session of the UN General Assembly, Djukic briefed the Hungarian foreign minister on the most important aims of Milan Panic's government, and the problems it faces. He confirmed that the Yugoslav government will do everything possible for the peaceful settlement of the South Slav crisis on the basis of democratic principles.

As regards bilateral relations, the Hungarian foreign minister said the tasks to be solved include stopping the settlement of Serbian refugees in Vojvodina, approving the amnesty law that would promote the return of refugees, holding talks with representatives of ethnic Hungarians in Vojvodina and reaching agreement in connection with their rights.

Djukic assured his Hungarian colleague that the rights of minority groups can only expand in the course of resolving the crisis, and that the aim of his government is for the members of the minority groups to be equal citizens. He also said his government considers it a priority task to ensure the return of the refugees to their places of residence.

Hungarian-Romanian Conservation Area Talks Held

AU2409090792 Budapest MTI in English 1653 GMT 21 Sep 92

[Text] Budapest, 21 Sep (MTI)—Romania will examine possibilities for setting up a conservation area adjoining Hungary's planned national park in the southeast region near the Koros and Maros rivers, parliament's Environmental Protection Committee Chairman Nandor Rott told the press on Monday [21 September].

The news briefing followed the Budapest talks of Peter Weber, chairman of the Romanian Senate's Committee for Ecological Balance and Environmental Protection.

The discussions resulted in an agreement on thorough environmental examinations along the common border, in addition to joint river testing agreed upon earlier, and a regular exchange of related experiences.

An opportunity will arise for conservation area management in cooperation with, and with the help of, the European Community.

Both sides attached great importance to the meeting.

Swedish Defense Official Views Cooperation

AU2309132592 Budapest UJ MAGYARORSZAG in Hungarian 17 Sep 92 p 3

["K.L."-signed interview with Arne Andersson, chairman of the Permanent Defense Committee of the Swedish Parliament, and Gyorgy Balogh, chairman of the Defense Committee of the Hungarian National Assembly, in Parliament on 16 September: "Finding One's Way on the Technological Map"]

[Text] A delegation of the Swedish Parliament's Permanent Defense Committee led by Chairman Arne Andersson is in Hungary on a study tour between 16 and 19 September. The delegation held talks with a delegation of the Defense Committee of the Hungarian Parliament on 16 September. During the talks, Chairman Gyorgy Balogh and members of the Hungarian delegation informed the guests about the process of restoring parliamentary democracy in Hungary, Hungary's defense policy, and the Hungarian Army's budget priorities. UJ MAGYARORSZAG asked the two chairmen to give a short interview.

[UJ MAGYARORSZAG] What is the concrete goal of your visit in Budapest?

[Andersson] Our initial goal was to receive direct information about this region's security and military policy situation; therefore, prior to our visit in Budapest, we visited Vienna and Prague. We will continue our trip by visiting Warsaw. Among other things, we exchanged views with the representatives of the Hungarian defense policy about the new situation in Europe because this new, open Europe provides a certain amount of new

opportunities for cooperation for both Hungary and Sweden. Sweden, a country that has been conducting a strictly neutral policy for a long time, was even unwilling to contact NATO in the past. This situation has now changed fundamentally.

We are seeking common points in Budapest too, points on the basis of which we could develop our cooperation on defense matters. There are two processes in Europe today: One is the unifying process of European integration; the other is the process of multilateral development of small nations and their particular cooperation, and the latter does not exclude the former either. Cooperation in the area of supplying new technologies could provide the opportunity for the small countries to catch up with the big countries. Although we are a small country like Hungary, Sweden has a rather developed military industry today, and we also use top technology here. This can be the driving force of our entire industry.

[UJ MAGYARORSZAG] Have you reached any concrete agreement during your talks?

[Andersson] No. We have not reached any concrete agreement this time. Being a first meeting, our task was to build bridges. Concrete agreement in business, training, and other fields can now come.

[UJ MAGYARORSZAG] What is your opinion about the situation that has emerged in Eastern-Central Europe, particularly in view of the civil war waged in Hungary's neighborhood?

[Andersson] The end of the two-pole world and the collapse of one of the military blocs have caused a big crisis in this region and, one could say that, indirectly, in Europe as a whole. However, I think it is not correct to blame a nation, a country, or a whole region for all the problems. Things are much more complex than that. Therefore, a good security policy should be foresighted and capable of preserving peace and guaranteeing the conditions for nations' coexistence and development through crisis-prevention and crisis-management measures even in the most complex situations.

[UJ MAGYARORSZAG] In such cases, is there a need for the cooperation of small nations? If so, how can this cooperation be implemented?

[Andresson] The small nations should cooperate and create their own group as opposed to the big powers. The best possibility for this is to find the white spots on the technological maps, white spots that could represent considerable forces after joining the cooperation. This is what Sweden has done. Thanks to the fact that it acquired top technology and it also contributed to the development of top technology, Sweden can now be an equal partner to even the most developed industrial big powers.

[Balogh] I am very pleased to host the full staff of the Swedish Defense Committee in Hungary. So far, we have had no contacts whatsoever either with the Swedish parliament's relevant committee or with any other Scandinavian country's relevant departments. Together with my colleagues, we informed the guests about our plans and we answered their questions. We have not yet reached concrete agreements, but the Swedish delegation will only now meet with the representatives of the Hungarian Army.

Minister Wants Intelligence Service Reorganization

AU2409102392 Budapest UJ MAGYARORSZAG in Hungarian 22 Sep 92 p 1

[Unattributed report: "Fuzessy About Intelligence"]

[Text] We must gradually reorganize our previously "Western-oriented" intelligence service to cover the neighboring countries—Tibor Fuzessy, minister without portfolio, said in his lecture held at the headquarters of the Christian Democratic People's Party on 21 September. Tibor Fuzessy, who is in charge of the civil intelligence service, thought all this was important because, in his view, the neighboring former socialist countries almost fully preserved their intelligence network or they are now firmly working on developing such a network, and Hungary is in the focus of their interest. This is how Tibor Fuzessy explained the gradual transfer of Hungarian intelligence forces to the neighboring countries, forces that were earlier active in the West. Tibor Fuzessy also said that, although a "thorough cleanup" took place in Hungary after the change in the regime, most of the current staff also worked in intelligence during the party-state years because this activity required special knowledge and training. The training of a new staff takes many years to complete.

Democratic Forum Official Establishes Foundation

AU2309120892

[Editorial Report] Budapest UJ MAGYARORSZAG in Hungarian on 19 September on page 6 carries a 100-word full-page advertisement signed by Istvan Csurka, deputy chairman of the Hungarian Democratic Forum, under the headline: "Hungarian Way."

The text of the advertisement reads as follows.

"I have established a foundation called the 'Hungarian Way.' The foundation has been registered with the court. The goal and purpose of the foundation is to prepare the Christian middle class that has a national spirit and places it in a position to lead the country. This requires training, movements, circles, and opportunities where 'four or five Hungarians can put their heads together.'

"We must progress relying on our own resources.

"If the youth cannot see any power then it will not orient itself toward the national commitment that is fatal. Europe only needs nations that have their own face. The 'Hungarian Way' foundation wishes to be the wind

blowing the sales of our ascent. Let us show the true face of Hungarian democracy! Let us have faith in ourselves! Everyone should support the 'Hungarian Way' with 100 forints! Let this be a referendum!"

The advertisement also contains payment methods to the foundation's account.

Demonstration Against Media Officials Viewed

AU2309124992 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 21 Sep 92 p 3

[Editorial by Katalin Bossanyi: "That Is Enough"]

[Text] One can no longer dismiss the recent demonstration demanding the resignation of the Hungarian Radio and Television as lightly as the previous rightist demonstrations. We can no longer say that only a few hundred extremists and misguided people blustered on the streets, people to whom one should not pay attention because they are not worthy. News about them is only free advertisement because, otherwise, no one would take them seriously.

The demonstration held on Saturday, 19 September, was a rather well-organized one and also a disciplined one, given the increased passions. (This does not mean that there were no smaller groups that used loud abusive language about Jews and Gypsies in the middle of slogans like "We will not allow it," "Down with him," and "We want Csurka" and after such slogans, particularly when the "official" part of the demonstration was over.) It is also food for thought that, while the number of participants at such demonstrations hardly exceeded 1,000—even by the most optimistic estimates—one or two months ago, there were about 10,000 people there this time. This time, the square facing the Hungarian Television Building was not full of the "usual" skinheads, the unfortunate victims of 1956, or the dozens of shouting drunkards asked to participate in a demonstration. This time, the participants were well-off, middle-class citizens, both elderly and young. I would even risk saying that most of the people who took to the streets represented the provincial middle class, people receptive to overheated national feelings.

Their demands were fulfilled in every respect.

Because the Torgyans, Pongraczs, Fonays, Nagyferos, and Janos Deneses have now been embodied in a tough speaker, namely Istvan Csurka. The deputy chairman of the Hungarian Democratic Forum [MDF] made it clear that whatever he said cannot be regarded as only a part of his activity as a writer and, after projecting the image of a lying press that preserved its former power, the specter of a left-wing bloc, and the vision of the emerging terror of liberalism, he announced the movement of the Hungarian Way. Until now, Csurka claimed that his movement's only goal was to "prepare the national-affiliated Christian middle class for the role of leader and bring them to the fore." On Saturday night, however, Csurka said different things, like: "We have only one way, the Hungarian Way!" and "This country is our country!" (Long applause) Then, after listing our connection with Arpad, the kings, and God, Csurka turned to the essential: "All of us are a bit proud and introverted individuals also capable of superhuman miracles and heroism, people connected and kept alive by a unique national awareness older than 1,000 years. If this special awareness that is different from any other nation's national awareness method is taken away from us.... in the era of a change in the regime, we will be lost."

Here is the old-new pro-Hungarian [hungarista] movement whose speaker is still seeking for "a connection method" and "the nice and clean words with which we call upon our government to put its foot down and create order in the Hungarian Radio and Television."

Only there, for the time being.

If they really want to contribute to democracy and our catching up with Europe, the government and the coalition cannot disregard the message of this demonstration. Nor can the opposition parties keep silent, and the intelligentsia that shapes our public opinion cannot hide its head in the sand, either.

Csurka concluded his speech by making the participants lengthily chant the following: "It has been enough, it has been enough, it has been enough."

He is right: This has been enough once and for all.

Skubiszewski Terms U.S. Relations 'Very Good'

LD2409103592 Warsaw PAP in English
0924 GMT 24 Sep 92

[Text] Sept. 24—Foreign Minister Krzysztof Skubiszewski described Poland's relations with the United States as very good but stressed that Poland was now nobody's satellite and so was not the satellite of the U.S., the relations between the two countries being relations between partners.

Speaking at a press conference at the Polish permanent delegation at the United Nations on Wednesday [23 September], Skubiszewski added that this did not mean there were not questions which needed sorting out. One of these questions was the lack of protection for authorship rights in Poland (piracy of video and music cassettes, computer programs). Skubiszewski stressed that Poland wanted to adopt international standards in this matter.

Skubiszewski described the arms industry as one of the areas where Polish-U.S. cooperation could be increased. He wanted to see more U.S. aid to convert the Polish arms industry to peace time production.

He was decidedly in favour of arms trade limitations saying that those states which supported terrorism should not be sold arms even when they were not covered by an embargo.

Skubiszewski was optimistic about the future of the United Nations, because the U.N. no longer faced the cold war situation during which the East-West conflict paralysed it. He did not see the need to amend the U.N. Charter (by for instance allowing Germany and Japan onto the Security Council as permanent members), and thought it would be enough if the San Francisco Charter was fully observed.

Asked by one of the Polish emigrant journalists in America about the high number of atheists the Polish Foreign Ministry appointed to its postings abroad, Skubiszewski replied that once the ministry had had a policy of appointing people with good intentions but without qualifications and that now those times were finished.

Skubiszewski stressed that all his talks during his stay in New York had been necessary and useful.

On Wednesday afternoon Skubiszewski met with German Foreign Minister Klaus Kinkel, the Yemeni secretary of state for foreign afffairs 'Abd al-'Aziz al-Dali and the foreign ministers of Slovenia—Dimitrij Rupel, Yugoslavia—Ilija Djukic and Brazil—Celso Lafer.

Skubiszewski was due to end his stay in New York on Thursday evening.

Foreign Minister Voices Support for UN in Bosnia

LD2209225292 Warsaw PAP in English
2133 GMT 22 Sep 92

[Text] New York, Sept. 22—The crisis in the former Yugoslavia, and in particular in Bosnia-Hercegovina, is currently the most serious threat to world peace, and Poland calls for the immediate closure of all prison camps, and the release of all prisoners, Polish Foreign Minister Krzysztof Skubiszewski said in New York on Tuesday [22 September], in his address to the current, 47th session of the United Nations General Assembly.

In his address, Skubiszewski said that all those in the former Yugoslavia who are guilty of human rights abuses should be brought to justice. He repeated the conclusions of the special report of former Polish Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki, saying that "none of the sides in the dispute is without guilt, although the degree of responsibility is unequal."

Skubiszewski announced that Poland was ready to place "two or three infantry battalions" at the disposal of the U.N. for peace-keeping operations, and supports moves to establish international bases for this purpose. "In this regard, we are ready to place at the disposal of the U.N. one of the Polish bases abandoned by the former Soviet forces," he said.

Referring to political, ethnic and religious conflicts, "which have contributed in large degree to the feeling of a lack of security and stability in Europe and beyond," Skubiszewski stressed that there was a great need for further moves in the sphere of security, in accordance with the U.N. Charter.

Earlier on Tuesday, in an interview with Polish press agency PAP correspondent Tomasz Zalewski the Polish foreign minister was asked to comment on the statement from Polish Deputy Prime Minister Henryk Goryszewski, to the effect that "Poland will not join the European Community of the German nation."

Skubiszewski repeated that the Suchocka government continued to support systematic Polish moves towards integration with the European Community. He rejected the suggestion that there was "a Europe of the German nation," and that Goryszewski's formulation was therefore academic.

On the future of the "Visegrad triangle" of central European states, following the anticipated split between the Czech lands and Slovakia, Skubiszewski said that he believed the triangle would transform itself into a quadrilateral, and that Poland's relations with both halves of the present Czecho-Slovakia were strong enough to survive the split.

On Polish-U.S. relations, Skubiszewski said that the present good state of bilateral contacts was a success for Polish foreign policy. He recognised, however, that there were problems, particularly in the areas of copyright and

trade-mark protection, which had given rise to serious disagreements between the two countries.

Skubiszewski also called for clear ground-rules to be laid down in relation to the international arms trade, particularly where terrorism might be a problem. He also defended the Polish Government's record over the 6 Poles arrested in Germany in March 1992, four of whom face extradition to the U.S. He stressed that the Polish Government had done all in its powers to defend the arrested suspects.

Program for Vienna Disarmament Talks Outlined

LD2209222592 Warsaw PAP in English 2153 GMT 21 Sep 92

[Text] Vienna, Sept. 21—The setting up of the Vienna forum "definitely ends the era of political blocs in disarmament negotiations" as all the CSCE states will attend it enjoying equal rights, said Poland's representative to the conference on the eve of new negotiations on disarmament, control of armaments and confidence and security building measures to start in Vienna on Sept. 22.

Poland wants to ensure itself external conditions for continuing democratic and free market changes, Ambassador Jerzy Nowak stressed. Making its own defensive efforts, Poland has been trying to get closer to NATO and the WEU [Western European Union]

Poland is in the process of achieving reconciliation with its big neighbours without attempts to internationalize mutual problems and is the only state in the region not involved in national or territorial disputes. This is the reason why Poland can play a new role in preventing conflicts and in preserving peace in its foreground. In this context, the Vienna forum will become an auxiliary instrument of strengthening Poland's own security, Nowak explained.

Suchocka Interviewed on Potential of Visegrad Group

LD2209221192 Budapest MTV Television Network in Hungarian 1940 GMT 18 Sep 92

["Exclusive" interview with Polish Prime Minister Hanna Suchocka on her upcoming visit to Budapest by an unidentified correspondent in Warsaw; date not given; from the "Panorama" program—recorded]

[Excerpt] [Correspondent] Will this be your first visit?

[Suchocka, in Polish with superimposed translation into Hungarian] In an official sense, yes. Personally, no, because I have already been in Hungary, in Budapest.

[Correspondent] During your unofficial negotiations with Prime Minister Klaus there was discussion on the issue of free trade zones being created as soon as possible. This is a political plan, without a doubt. Is it realistic, however, from an economic point of view, and are you planning something similar with Hungary as well?

[Suchocka] In my view, this plan is realistic to the greatest extent. An advanced introduction was raised because, as is known, the previous time span was eight years or even longer. Bringing forward the deadline for its introduction would mean shortening this eight-year period and we think this is realistic. This issue will also be discussed with Prime Minister Antall for Hungary.

[Correspondent] What is the EC going to say about this?

[Suchocka] It is for this reason that I have said we will discuss this in relation to the EC. By the way, we are currently operating within the Visegrad group, and here we make certain economic decisions while naturally taking into account the EC position. It is precisely for this reason, however, that the Visegrad group was formed. Its principal task is to deal with economic issues and, within that framework, to carry out some kind of political coordination. This is what we agreed on, and this is what we discussed with Prime Minister Klaus.

[Correspondent] What is the fate of the Visegrad Triangle, especially now —after the breakup of Czechoslovakia? Will it become a rectangle?

[Suchocka] This is why I use—as you probably noticed—the term Visegrad group. I believe it is more appropriate since it does not announce the number of states. In our view—at least we are presuming this—this group will continue to operate even after Czechoslovakia's breakup, and the political coordination that I have already mentioned will operate within the framework of this group. Within this group, bilateral relations between individual member states in terms of economic cooperation, the maintenance of open markets, prices, etc., will also come about.

[Correspondent] There are voices, especially in Czechoslovakia, saying that there is no need for such cooperation. What do you think?

[Suchocka] I believe there is a need for it. I hold a different opinion. I think that the joint position, or the joint declaration, that was made after the unofficial negotiations with Prime Minister Klaus and that emphasized precisely the rationality for continued survival of the Visegrad group—this declaration does—to some extent—modify those opinions to which you have referred.

[Correspondent] Can Slovakia also remain a member of equal standing, as there are economic differences between the Czech lands and Slovakia, for example?

[Suchocka] There are economic differences, but in every economic community there are states that are at a different level of development. We think that it is precisely within the Visegrad group that opportunities for bilateral solutions with Slovakia will appear. [passage omitted]

Former Prime Minister Forms Republic Coalition

AU2309154892 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 21 Sep 92 p 2

[Kazimierz Groblewski report: "A Coalition for Poland"]

[Text] On 20 September, members of the Christian-Democratic Forum, Patrimony Association, Christian-Democratic Party, Christian-Democratic Labor Party, Christian-Democratic People's Forum, Movement for the Third Republic, and Polish Independence Party founded the Republic Coalition [Koalicja dla Rzeczypospolitej]. This took place at a meeting attended by some 600 people at the Riviera Remont hall.

In the declaration they adopted, the founders say that the aim of the coalition is to remove the dangers facing Poland and build a strong, democratic Polish state free of the heritage of the People's Republic.

"The idea of a 'NATO-2' and 'EEC-2' was born in the offices of Russian military counterintelligence," said Jan Parys, leader of the Movement for the Third Republic. "The government of Hanna Suchocka is telling lies. This is an alien government that does not care about the Polish raison d'etat."

Almost every sentence uttered by Parys met with a round of applause. "This Democratic Union government has adopted the telling of lies as one of its principles of action. It has abolished pluralism in the media, and that is why it is so easy for it to tell lies with impunity, and so difficult for the targets of these lies to defend themselves. We have had enough of the Democratic Union government, we say no to a government of lies."

Parys described what happened on 5 September, during the voting on the decommunization legislation, as "exceeding all expectations." "This is not the first time Tadeusz Mazowiecki's party has defended the communist and secret police establishment," he said. "We say no to the Suchocka government's pro-Russian option. Do we want a military accord with Russia?" he asked. "No," came the resounding reply.

Parys said he finds it odd that people repeat like parrots Russian military counterintelligence's idea of a "NATO-2" and "EEC- 2."

"An alien government cannot possibly care about the Polish raison d'etat because the left wing has never shown any interest in Poland's interests. It has always been internationalist and anti-Polish," said Parys.

Speaking of the Democratic Union, Parys described it as a "party of lies and deceit that wants to place Poland under Moscow's control. Can such people govern Poland?" he asked. "No" came the reply.

A coalition declaration was signed by 24 members of the aforementioned seven political groups. It states that the replacement of disgraced cadres in the state administration is an essential condition for building the Third Republic. For this purpose, it is essential to disclose communist agents in state structures. The young generation's upbringing should be based on Christian and patriotic values. These values must find expression in the mass media.

"The purpose of the coalition," said leader Jan Olszewski, "is to defend the democratic system in Poland. This is an authentic, Polish, and Christian political coalition, which is undertaking the task of reversing the current chain of events in Poland." Olszewski would like it to be a "broad, ideological, and political social movement."

"Our fathers and grandfathers gave up their lives, but all we need is a little bit of civil courage," said former interior minister Antoni Macierewicz. "I hope that when the coalition meets again in the Great Hall of Warsaw Polytechnic in seven months' time, it will have 100,000 members."

"A rapprochement with NATO is essential because when Russia has regained its power, once again it will reach for what Stalin once described as the jewel in the crown of the Russian Empire," said the former interior minister.

"Do not believe those who claim that de-Sovietization has lowered the Army's efficiency," said former Defense Minister Romuald Szeremetiew. "I am sure there are enough patriots in uniform who will refuse to sign today's declaration and who oppose decommunization in the Army."

Democratic Right Faction Leaves Democratic Union

AU2309133392 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 21 Sep 92 p 1

[Igor Zalewski report: "Farewell to the Union"]

[Text] Aleksander Hall and his supporters finally said goodbye to the Democratic Union at a meeting of that party's Political Council, and left to form the Faction of the Democratic Right [FPD]. Hall did not bear any grudges, nor did he make offer any excuses. In Tadeusz Mazowiecki's opinion, Hall's exit will make no difference to the Democratic Union. Wladyslaw Frasyniuk attacked the government of Hanna Suchocka.

Aleksander Hall's milieu has been saying for a long tome that it wanted to form a modern center-right-wing group. "Now is the time to bid a friendly farewell to the Democratic Union," said Hall. "A factor encouraging the formation of the FPD is the political stabilization brought about by the Suchocka government. Now one has to think about various reshuffles on the political scene to avoid dramatic situations."

Hall still thinks the Union has a positive role to play, but its members hold too many different views. The FPD

leader said that his faction would cooperate with the Democratic Union and remain in the pro-Suchocka government coalition.

The split from the Democratic Union will formally be resolved at an FPD general meeting in early October. It is already known that the entire FPD Krakow group will remain in the Union. This group includes Tadeusz Syryjczyk, chief adviser to the prime minister; Henryk Wozniakowski, one-time deputy chairman of the FPD; Zdobyslaw Milewski, the prime minister's press secretary; and Waldemar Rataj. A new parliamentary club consisting of 25 deputies from the FPD, Christian-Democratic Party and Christian People's Party will be be formed in October.

"The departure of the FPD will not alter our party's identity," said Democratic Party chief Tadeusz Mazowiecki. Piotr Nowina-Konopka said Hall's position would not remain vacant. "We are parting in a way that does not throw our future cooperation into question," said Mazowiecki. "This is an amicable divorce."

After the FPD members had left the hall, Wladyslaw Frasyniuk attacked the Suchocka government. He said there was no liaison between the government and the Democratic Union, and that Union members were learning many things from the press instead of from the government. Frasyniuk also criticized Jacek Kuron and his idea of an enterprise accord.

Center Accord Sets Conditions for Partners

AU2209124592 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 17 Sep 92 p 1

[Kazimierz Groblewski report: "Two Roads, and a Third One"]

[Text] Center Accord [PC] activists left their one and a half day-long conference in Chlewiska, near Siedlce, in a good mood. In off-the-record conversations, they said they felt that the party now finds itself in an attractive position—the government coalition, on the one hand, and the forces grouped around Jan Olszewski, on the other, must seek its support. One leader even said that his party was "an eligible young woman."

The 13 "conditions permitting the pursuit of an effective policy of reforms and guaranteeing their success" that PC activists adopted late on the evening of 15 September contain general formulations: "a resolute defense of parliamentary democracy," "a defense of the state budget against wealthy groups that are enriching themselves at the budget's expense," "a radical improvement in the condition of the banking and finance system," and "more objective information in the mass media," as well as the more concrete "unambiguous adoption of a course aimed at cooperation with and future membership in NATO and the Western European Union," "an unambiguous declaration that the government is prepared to implement vetting and decommunization laws in the event that they are passed," "recognition of 'Solidarity' as a trade union representation that is the government's basic partner in instituting market-oriented reforms," and "the establishment of ministries of the treasury, the economy, and public administration."

According to PC activists, Jan Olszewski will seek to win their party's favor because the party has regional structures and a pro-capitalist program. "Without us, Olszewski will be condemned to winning over the electorate with nothing other than slogans about vetting," said one deputy. On the other hand, the PC is also important to the government because "its Sejm majority is fragile and it may soon lose it if the 'Solidarity' Club withdraws its support."

PC activists are of the opinion that political life is beginning to revolve around their party. At a news conference in Chlewiska, Kaczynski said that the Republican Coalition, the Christian-Peasant Party, the Christian Democrat Party, and the Forum of the Democratic Right plan to create a joint bloc to have "a stronger position vis-a-vis us."

The Hanna Suchocka government is not, in his opinion, consistently pro-capitalist. He cited as examples the pact on the state enterprises (the PC will oppose the pact's implementation in the Sejm) as well the "sluggish approach to the strikes."

The thirteen "conditions" may also indicate that there is strong pressure in the party to take a third road, without Jan Olszewski and without the government, to act independently as a "pro-capitalist opposition." "We do not accept the emotional statements made by some young representatives of the bloc that is being formed (Christian-Peasant Party, Christian-Democrat Party, the Republicans, and the Forum of the Democratic Right) to the effect that there is currently no place in Poland for a pro-capitalist opposition," said Kaczynski.

Not one person that we spoke to in Chlewiska returned to the statements made before the meeting about how the PC should "crystallize its image." Activists were pleased that the party had presented conditions and it is now waiting to see who will satisfy them.

Deputies Comment on Vote on Privatization Minister

AU2209173392 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 19-20 Sep 92 p 2

[Pawel Reszka report: "A Test of the Coalition's Strength"]

[Text] The vote on the Confederation for an Independent Poland [KPN] motion calling for the dismissal of Minister Janusz Lewandowski at the 18 September meeting of the Sejm was treated by many deputies as a test of the strength of the coalition parties supporting the government.

The prevailing view was that although the coalition members and the minister had come out of the test well, it was not a success. Many deputies pointed to the shaky majority that the coalition has in parliament as well as to the necessity of broadening the base of parties supporting the government.

The head of the Christian-National Union Club [ZChN], Stefan Niesiolowski, believes that the coalition has passed its first serious test.

"No ZChN deputy voted in favor of the KPN motion. That was due to club discipline, which was enforced following a difficult vote preceded by stormy debate," he said. Niesiolowski added that the KPN motion failed, although the other side was fully mobilized.

Andrzej Halicki of the Liberal-Democratic Congress said that the result was not particularly successful, that the motion and the vote were not about Lewandowski, but were a veiled attempt to pass a vote of no confidence in the government. He also thinks that such attempts will be renewed. The vote shows that there is a need to create conditions for better cooperation and information between the coalition clubs (the way in which ZChN deputies voted shows that there is such a need).

Andrzej Potocki (Democratic Union) said that since the coalition's inception, it was clear that it does not have a secure majority in the Sejm. It was also known that the coalition will seek to expand. Part of the Center Accord [PC] would definitely be interested in joining the coalition, he added.

Jozef Orzel (PC) thinks that the 18 September vote shows how weak the coalition is and also proved that it is essential for the government to expand it.

In Jacek Maziarski's (PC) opinion, the 18 September vote was a defeat for the government. The result shows that its base is very weak.

Miroslaw Lewandowski of the KPN thinks that the governing coalition lacks imagination, but that it is hard to say whether it is weak. Its lack of imagination is evident in the appointment of Janusz Lewandowski as minister of ownership transformations, despite the charges concerning the way in which he instituted the privatization process in 1991.

"The vote does not augur well for the coalition government. The government has lost a considerable degree of public support. It is a clear signal that privatization, according to the 1991 recipe, will be continued and even accelerated. That might lead to unrest, or even to a social explosion," Lewandowski said.

Deputies 'Seriously' Criticize Privatization Program

AU2309110792 Warsaw PAP in English 1830 GMT 19 Sep 92

[Excerpt] Warsaw, Sept. 19—The Polish Government's mass privatisation programme was seriously criticised by deputies on Saturday [19 September], during the Sejm (lower house) debate on the privatisation bill.

The draft law, which is to legislate the distribution to the Polish public of shares in several national investment funds which will hold shares in around 600 privatised enterprises, was criticised for its failure to grant Polish citizens anything more than indirect, and hence illusory, control over the privatised companies. Deputies were also concerned that there was a threat that the national investment funds themselves would gain monopolistic control over a large sector of the Polish economy. There was also criticism of the fact that the national investment funds will be run by foreign managers.

Discussion on the draft law will continue during the next session of the Sejm, starting on September 30.

Earlier, the Sejm voted to return the government draft law on the financial restructuring of enterprises and banks to the Sejm committees for further examination. However, it rejected a motion from the Confederation for Independent Poland (KPN) for the bill to be rejected. [passage omitted]

Main Statistical Office Issues August Report

AU2109152592 Warsaw PAP in English 1736 GMT 17 Sep 92

[Text] Warsaw, Sept. 17 (PAP)—The August strikes in Poland had no influence on the average level of production in industry taken as a whole but only in the areas directly affected by the stoppages, according to the vice president of the Main Statistical Office (GUS), Roman Sawinski.

According to GUS, 30 strikes ended in August, 12 of them in the copper industry, with some 30,000 workers taking part overall. Production of electrolytic copper was 16 percent down on July. The FSO [automobile plant] car plant produced barely 6,400 cars (in June the figure was 22,000).

Industrial output sales for August were 2.9 percent down on July, however there were two working days fewer in August. Most branches of industry recorded a decrease with the exception of the light industry (an 11.2 percent increase) and the timber and paper industry (an increase of 2.5 percent).

However August was the fifth month in a row in which industrial output sales were higher than for the same period last year (6.8 percent).

The number of newly habitable apartments was 65,000, a fall of 7.3 percent over the month and 25 percent compared with last year. There was a 50 percent decreasein the amount of apartments being built (95,000) compared to the end of the 1980's.

GUS recorded a significant increase (2.8 percent) in the prices of goods and services in August as compared with July.

Average net wages rose by 0.7 percent in the same period and are now at 2,481,000 zlotys.

Food prices were on average 2.7 percent higher over the month, non-food products rose by 2.5 percent and services 3.2 percent.

Average real wages were 4 percent down on last year, and nominal welfare benefits were 0.3 percent up. Of the latter, benefits from insurance rose the most (1.9 percent), pensions fell the most (0.5 percent) and disability pensions fell by 0.4 percent.

Presidential Candidates Participate in Radio Program

Caius Dragomir

AU2309071992

[Editorial Report] Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian at 1600 GMT on 22 September carries a 40-minute studio election program entitled "Candidates for the Presidency of Romania Before the Electorate," the 17th of 18 scheduled live broadcasts with the six candidates registered for the 27 September presidential elections. Today's studio guest is Caius Traian Dragomir of the National Salvation Front [FSN]. An unidentified announcer says that Dragomir will be questioned by a panel of four reporters consisting of: Victor Nitelea, ADEVARUL; Mircea Florin Sandru, TINERETUL LIBER; Romulus Maier, REALITATEA ROMANEASCA; and Valentin Marculescu, LIBERTATEA.

The first question refers to "possible FSN post-electoral alliances." Dragomir says that "the FSN can only enter into alliances with democratic groups," and adds the following: "We put our hopes in the democratic beliefs and actions of the component parties of the Democratic Convention of Romania [CDR] and the National Liberal Party [PNL]. I said we only put our hopes in that because there are sometimes huge gaps between statements of intent and the true identity of parties." In this respect, he excludes the Democratic National Salvation Front [FDSN] that is "obviously a neocommunist party." Dragomir says that "if such a coalition is formed, one should seriously examine the direct and immediate options of the member parties," to avoid the "big mistake of the October 1991 government, set up on the basis of a transaction about persons and portfolios, rather than programs." He also excludes "other left-wing and communist-type parties, such as the Socialist Party of Labor, PSM" as likely coalition partners. Dragomir concludes his answer by saying that he is making these statements "in my capacity as FSN vice president, not as presidential candidate Dragomir."

In answer to another question, Dragomir "deplores" President Iliescu's "slow reactions on such key situations as the attempted putsch in Moscow; his indecisiveness on the issue of the Republic of Moldova and the necessary assistance so that it can come closer to and even unite with us; his lack or resolution in making a clear commitment to the West; and many other things."

Asked about his options as president, Dragomir says that he is in favor of "clarity and dialogue" and will support an "authentically open government that works for change and reform and creates equal chances for everybody."

Asked whether he thinks the Romanian electorate is "capable of perceiving the doctrine differences between the candidates or whether it is merely drawn to the charisma of the competing personalities," Dragomir says that, "while charisma is important," the voters "should be guided by the concrete realities of the political activity of the candidates." Dragomir points out that, "in this respect, things are pretty clear: On the one hand we have a communist group. We can baptize it as we like. It can choose whatever name its likes. It may even contain nice people. Nevertheless, communism is grouped around Mr. President Iliescu. There is no other country run by three former high ranking party secretaries, except maybe for North Korea or some other Asian country." He goes on to say that "on the other hand, there is the issue of the monarchy, which is a complication. The issue is not whether we would like to have a king or not. Personally, I cannot see why I would like that, and I am definitely a republican. But, aside from that, what are we going to do with this change? What good will it do?" In this respect, Dragomir reproaches CDR candidate Emil Constantinescu for "avoiding giving a clear answer on the issue." Dragomir continues that, "on the third hand, we have the extreme nationalism of Mr. Gheorghe Funar of the Romanian National Unity Party [PUNR]. What does that movement want to achieve? The country's isolation again?" Dragomir considers the FSN's "social democratic platform" as a "truly balancing option between these trends."

Asked whether he will "fight for Mr. Petre Roman to be appointed prime minister again," Dragomir says "a president has no say whatsoever in choosing a prime minister, which is the prerogative of the majority party, be it a relative majority."

In answer to another question, Dragomir says he is in favor of "Romania's total opening toward the United States," whose "current reticence" can be overcome "once it is reassured by the certitude of Romania's political evolution." In this context, he elaborates on the president's role in projecting Romania's image abroad.

Asked about his chances in the presidential race, Dragomir says that the "FSN did well to put up its own presidential candidate, thus choosing between Iliescu and me" that "clearly indicated that it has opted for change." He adds that "the issue was of choosing between communism and anticommunism" or "between the East that has terrorized us for so many decades, and the West."

Asked about his qualifications for seeking the presidency, Dragomir expresses "confidence" in his skills and "doubts" that "being a former county party secretary is the best formula for being elected president."

Asked whether Romania has a nationality problem, Dragomir says that "there is really no nationality problem in Romania." In his opinion "people can get along together very well," and says he sees "this hostility of small groups against others" as "fomented by various interests." In this context he says that "once it becomes clear that no square meter of Romanian land may be coveted by anyone, then everybody will talk differently." Dragomir continues by emphasizing that "this requires a high level of national defense capability; Romania's

joining an efficient international security system, primarily NATO; and a regional security system, which we should start building now, but cannot do it with the communists in power." Dragomir speaks out for "simultaneously resolving the issue of national security and the problem of relations among the ethnic groups."

Asked about the conduct of this electoral campaign, Dragomir praises the press in general, "which has proved its evolution and broad democratic opening from the viewpoint of the information put forward, despite shortcomings in the sphere of comment."

Asked about his "reaction to a future coalition government that includes the FDSN," Dragomir says that "to the extent that this is the result of a constitutional procedure, all that is left to him is to agree to it and congratulate those who emerged victorious in this way."

Asked "what would be his first decision as president," Dragomir says that "priority should be given to consultations for forming a government on the basis of programs."

Gheorghe Funar

AU2309195592

[Editorial Report] Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian at 1600 GMT on 23 September carries a 40-minute studio election program entitled "Candidates for the Presidency of Romania Before the Electorate," the 18th and last scheduled live broadcast with the six candidates registered for the 27th September presidential elections. Today's studio guest is Gheorghe Funar of the Romanian National Unity Party [PUNR]. An unidentified announcer says that Gheorghe Funar will be questioned by Victor Nitelea, ADEVARUL; Mircea Florin Sandru, TINERETUL LIBER; Paul Dobrescu, CURIERUL NATIONAL; and Mircea Suciu, EVENIMENTUL ZILEI.

Asked to comment on his, Constantinescu's, and Iliescu's chances in the elections, Funar says that "as far as I am concerned, I have said that I have decided to win. This is why I have entered this race. I have played and continue to play this game aggresively—even tomorrow at the last television appearance—only in this way can one win such a competition." As for my other colleagues, "they either play midfield or score their own goal."

He continues by saying that "Mr. Constantinescu and Mr. Iliescu have some hopes." As for "Professor Constantinescu, various polls show that he ranks first, while I rank third, and Iliescu second." Funar continues by saying that "in my opinion, Professor Constantinescu has no chance to occupy such a position" because he "represents those who are against Romania's Constitution. I am convinced that the Romanians will not behave in an absurd way, namely to vote for a president who does not support Romania's Constitution."

In connection with President Iliescu's chances to win, Funar says that, during his visit to the Galati iron and steel works, "he admitted that he has no solutions for the current situation." He accuses Iliescu of having forgotten the promises made to the electorate the first time around.

In answer to another question, Funar says that "he realizes that the PUNR candidate can count on a lot of votes in Bucharest as well," but that there are also people who shouted "Fascists," while he and his aides had arrived with tricolor flags.

In connection with a question about a poll that showed him as ranking third, Funar says that the 27 September election will prove who will win. He adds that such polls are not realistic.

In answer to a question about his "national program that he presented to the Romanian electorate" and "its exacerbated nationalism," Funar says that "there have been attempts in the past few days to prove that I was a nationalist—that is, an extremist—and, unfortunately, some people believe" such accusations "which are not justified" by "my activity as mayor of Cluj-Napoca. In connection with whether I am a nationalist, my answer is yes. I love the Romanian people, and for this reason I accept to be labeled a nationalist; however, I am not an extremist; I respect the law and struggle for its application. Those who abide by the law cannot be viewed as extremists." Likewise, "I am no chauvinist" as reported. None of "my actions in Cluj Napoca were of a chauvinist nature. I have always tried to fully abide by the law." Before being mayor "and later in this position, I proved that one can live peacefully and very positive relations may exist between the majority of the Romanian population and the ethnic minorities, including the Hungarian population in Cluj-Napoca. In this context, I would like to specify that among the approximately 130,000 signatures I received when I entered the presidential race, some 20,000 were from ethnic Hungarians." This "proves that I am not a chauvinist."

In connection with who will rank second and third in the presidential election, Funar says that "the PUNR candidate will rank first," while the struggle "for the second place is still going on, and there might be some surprise attacks between Mr. Ion Iliescu and Professor Emil Constantinescu tomorrow on television, who will fight for the second and third place." The "place they will hold depends on the position that will be adopted by the Democratic Union of Hungarians in Romania [UDMR]. According to information, the UDMR is on the point of getting reoriented. The UDMR noted that Professor Constantinescu is not competitive," and "it seems that it will reorient and will support Mr. Ion Iliescu" in the elections because it "noted that during Iliescu leadership, the UDMR was able to do whatever it wanted in Romania. It hopes to continue to do so. They are naive; they do not know who Romania's president is going to be." He continues by saying that "Mircea Druc will rank fourth, while Ion Manzatu will rank fifth, and Caius Traian Dragomir will come in sixth."

Asked what is the explanation of his self-assurance, Funar says that the PUNR economic and social protection program lent him this self-assurance because "it is accepted by the great majority of the Romanian electorate." He continues by saying that under this program "we will actually eliminate unemployment in Romania." He also says that after getting to know his opponents better, he realized, that "I actually have no opponent." He sees himself as "a correct, open, and honest man, and what I think I also say. The other five colleagues of mine—with the exception of, maybe, Mr. Druc—are some sort of actors. They try to play a role and when they fail to do so, they are lost." These "are some of the arguments that cause me to be optimistic about the final result." The time has come for the Romanians "to install a president" who "will protect our interests" and "no longer play into the hands of foreign countries."

Asked whether he has a role model, Funar says that he is "not an advocate of models and of copying models. I am desirous to learn, to know, and to use everything positive achieved by our predecessors and Romania has had statesmen of great stature throughout the centuries."

In connection with the blessing addressed to him by the pope and published by today's daily CURIERUL NATIONAL, Funar says that the pope, "being a great diplomat and politician, has probably sensed who is going to be Romania's president and this blessing was a great surprise for me."

The next question refers to the attack against him during his election campaign in Timisoara and the accusation "that it was staged by PUNR." Funar says that "the Timisoara police is investigating this event" and both "the UDMR and Democratic Convention" were involved.

Asked whether he is able to "be a president for all Romanians," Funar says that "I have done nothing else but provide answers—on the radio and television—to the numerous questions asked by voters in connection with what has happened in the country. Therefore I had to appeal to the current president, Mr. Ion Iliescu," to "face the Romanian nation and to explain what has happened and why we have reached this situation." Certainly, "should I be elected president, I will naturally be a president for all Romanians and I will treat all citizens equally, irrespective of their political leaning, as I actually did on a smaller scale in Cluj-Napoca where I was elected mayor and where part of the electorate voted for the representatives of the Democratic Convention."

In connection with criticism leveled at President Iliescu and Funar's reservations with three laws the former promulgated, Funar points out that the three laws are "the Privatization Law that I would not have promulgated in its current structure and the objectives it envisages; the second one is the Election Law that prohibits the use of the colors of our flag" in "electoral posters." Along this line, "I want to appeal to Prime Minister Stolojan to prohibit the polling stations in Hungary. The elections are taking place in Romania; he has pledged to the country to organize and make sure that we will have free and democratic elections in Romania. He has opened five polling stations in Hungary, so that Hungarians may vote there with false identity papers and influence the election results—of course, to favor the Democratic Convention." The elections "are taking place in Romania and if there are Romanians in Hungary, they can go to our embassy in Budapest and vote there." And "the third law is the one adopted recently by the parliament" in connection with "privileges for former parliamentarians who are sure not to be reelected on 27 September."

Asked what he will do in case he is not elected president, Funar says that "I am the mayor of Cluj-Napoca; I still have three years and six months to go, but rest assured I will win the race."

Voters Question Constantinescu, Iliescu

AU1609133092 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1146 GMT 16 Sep 92

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 16/9/1992—Tuesday, September 15, the Romanian television devoted a programme to the candidates for Romania's presidency. This time, in keeping with the lots drawing, addressing the nation were Emil Constantinescu, candidate of the Democratic Convention, and Ion Iliescu, candidate of the Democratic National Salvation Front [FDSN]. Just as on the other occasions it was the voters who asked the questions the candidates had to answer.

Emil Constantinescu

The candidate of the Democratic Convention tackled first the question related to the activity of the mayors elected on the lists of this coalition during the spring polls, showing that under a "FSN [National Salvation Front]-FDSN" administration both those mayors and the mayors of other political groupings cannot work as they would like to, being barred by the existing legislation. "It is not the mayor who should be held responsible but the hybrid system according to which newly elected people have to work in the context of laws most of which are from Ceausescu's time," Emil Constantinescu said, adding that the government did not fulfil its obligations regarding the proper operation of the local administration either.

Referring to the role of the Army the Convention's candidate said that the Romanian Army should become again what it used to be, an elite officers' corps, well equipped, ready to cope with any situation," and for this "it must make the object of an appropriate legislation," this being another of the shortcomings of the government. Although in almost all Western democracies the defence minister is a civilian, a professional politician "I firmly believe that at this moment characterized by fluidity, the Romanian Defence Ministry should be headed by a professionist, that is a career military," Mr. Constantinescu said specifying that he does not see the

necessity of a purge in the Army, that the military training and not politics should be the only criterion because the Army belongs to the whole country.

As to the question of tenants of nationalized dwellings the candidate is of the opinion that it should be solved "by means of a flexible law which should not level down everything from the beginning and take into consideration various situations, which are situations of life," speaking for the observance of the rights of both the tenants and the former owners.

Setting from the fact that ethnic parties are not a criterion of advanced democracy, Mr. Constantinescu opines that such parties "are a good thing in this period" in Romania because they allotted representatives of groups with specific interests to set them forth in parliament, before the country which "prevented conflicts like those in Yugoslavia from becoming acute in Romania."

About the future of private education in Romania the Convention's candidate said that the question was not of the private or state education but of its quality, no matter its kind, of the necessity that the learning institutions be subject to accreditation, like in all civilized states, as regards the fulfilment of criteria of competence and material facilities.

In another string of ideas, the candidate of the Democratic Convention said that if elected president of the country he would be the guarantor that there will be no collective responsibility for the former members of the Communist Party and that every citizen will be appraised exclusively according to the value of his work and his abilities. Concluding, Mr. Constantinescu said that although the Democratic Convention is an alliance of parties with various programmes they seem to have a binder: the minimum common objective—to take Romania out of this crisis, and the maximum objective—to change the structures of the totalitarian state."

Ion Iliescu

Referring to the opinions expressed in the press about a certain isolation of Romania internationally and to the fact that this could have something to do with the person of the president, Ion Iliescu said that there was no case of Romania's isolation after December 1989, that "Romania's international activity over this period has been of unprecedented intensity," mentioning in the context Romania's very active presence in the international life and at highly important meetings." He also assessed as "false the thesis according to which the openness to America and Western Europe, the friendship and cooperation with these states would be the monopoly and privilege of the opposition." Statements by heads of state and government evince the idea that what the Western world is interested in is the fairness of the elections in Romania and not their result. "The result depends on the option of the Romanian people which can be but respected by other states," he stressed.

Mr. Iliescu reiterated the fact that he did not consider himself an atheist but a free-thinker who believes in the perennial values of Christianity like tolerance and good understanding among people which he considers to be salient features of the Romanian people. The FDSN candidate admitted that as far as the settlement of the problem of the tenants of nationalized dwellings was concerned his point of view "was close" to that of the candidate of the opposition, Emil Constantinescu, and "probably of others as well," stressing the idea that "we should not replace a wrong with another."

Mr. Iliescu dwelt at length on the need to fight unemployment opining that economic measures should be taken first of all to remove blockage, dynamize the economic and social sectors and trigger a general recovery of the economy so that "at least one million new jobs be created in four years." Such an objective could be reached by stimulating the private sectors, in the sphere of production in particular, stimulation which should be paralleled by a national professional retraining programme for the young people to adapt them to the requirements of the economic life.

Asked if he saw it as an advantage or a disadvantage that the Socialist Party of Labour [PSM] (the chairman of which is former communist leader Ilie Verdet) stated it would back his candidature, Mr. Iliescu answered that he had "learned about this decision from the press" and that he did not want to comment on it since "the PSM decision was not the outcome of a negotiation, of a political understanding." The FDSN candidate for the presidency said that his platform was joined by "people who work for an honest living." "I do not think that it would ever be adhered to by people eager to get rich by dishonest means," he added.

Dragomir, Funar Appear on Electoral Program

AU1809165992 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1244 GMT 18 Sep 92

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 18/9/1992—Thursday, September 17, the special electoral programme for the presidential candidates was reserved for Caius Traian Dragomir, candidate of the National Salvation Front (FSN), and Gheorghe Funar, candidate of the Romanian National Unity Party (PUNR).

Caius Traian Dragomir

The National Salvation Front candidate said that none of the accusations brought against his party "had been proved" and that the country's president made "more errors and breached the constitutionalism required by the presidential office." Aside from all this, the FSN candidate went on, the Romanian nation "is coming out of a certain epoch, namely the post-communist epoch." Then Mr. Dragomir spoke about his activity as secretary of state at the department of information showing that while in that office he tried to favor the presentation of a real image of Romania, by supporting cultural publications included.

Referring to the opposition coalition, the Democratic Convention, Mr. Dragomir said "it was another alternative of democratic ideals," and that at present the aforementioned alliance was "a prisoner of the Christian Democratic National Peasant Party." As to the recent incident in Timisoara when another presidential candidate (Gheorghe Funar on behalf of the PUNR) was attacked by militants of the Democratic Convention Caius Dragomir said that the victim should think of the old biblical precept "he who sows the wind shall reap the storm."

The FSN candidate referred next to the need to ensure the country's advance of the path of the reform, showing in context that "the problem is to surmount centralism and, in a last analysis, a bureaucratic political class always ready to use the fear of economic progress of people not yet aware of how strongly communism worked in all areas." A market economy, an economy which creates capital in an honest manner is our only chance, Mr. Dragomir said.

Gheorghe Funar

The PUNR candidate referred first to the incident in Timisoara saying that to his joy he saw that he had "only 300-400 opponents there, and that they belong to the Democratic Convention."

Answering a question asked by electors Mr. Funar said that Romania's foreign opponents were "the leadership of states which do not share the interests of the Romanian nation and oppose the reunification of the Romanian territories, that is the accomplishment of greater Romania."

The PUNR candidate said that in the old regime the Securitate was divided in two: one part dwelt on state security and the other was totally devoted to the dictator and to the nomenklatura. He stressed that state security "is necessary and must be consolidated so as to reach a level comparable with that existing in advanced democracies," while the security as a repressive apparatus "has no chance to be revitalized in Romania."

Mr. Funar stated that if elected he would try to contribute to "the setting up of the national party, of a majority in parliament allowing for the formation of a stable government apt to implement the economic and social protection programme set forth by his party."

He reiterated his decision to see to it that rights and freedoms sanctioned by the Constitution be observed, including those of the ethnic minorities, stressing: "I was honored to get about 20,000 signatures from Romanian citizens whose mother tongue is Hungarian to be able to run in the presidential election."

In conclusion, the PUNR candidate stated that "both the power and the opposition worked to distort Romania's image abroad," mentioning in context the "humiliating visits" President Iliescu paid to a number of states, the "inappropriate activity of the Foreign Ministry." He expressed his hope he would be able to present a natural image of Romania so that it enjoys the respect it deserves among the nations of the world.

Presidential Candidates Express Views on TV

AU2309162492 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1054 GMT 23 Sep 92

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 23/9/1992—All six presidential hopefuls presented their standpoints in the electoral program on September 22 on television: Caius Traian Dragomir (National Salvation Front), Ion Iliescu (Democratic National Salvation Front), Gheorghe Funar (National Unity Party of Romanians), Emil Constantinescu (Democratic Convention of Romania), and Mircea Druc (independent).

Caius Traian Dragomir said that the National Salvation Front [FSN] "is at the same time a party of continuity and a really new party of the moment, of our opening to the future," "the party's option is a democratic one," and consequently "everything that is bound to happen in Romania will be thought out in consideration of the interests of most of the people." He stressed "there is neither identity nor similarity at this moment between the FSN and the Democratic National Salvation Front [FDSN]" and "as long as genuine change is wanted in Romania, it cannot be devised without a change at the level of the presidential function." "The change should be clearly toward democracy." The FSN candidate said the Romanian reality is "fully against a resurrection of communism."

Ion Iliescu cursorily surveyed the period after December 1989, saying "the fundamental purposes of the Romanian revolution have shown in the country's life," that in this interval "the passage was achieved from a totalitarian regime toward a democratic one, a pluralist system has been developed to replace the one-party monopoly, the foundations have been laid to a state of law." The FDSN candidate stated that the country's crucial issues now were the issues of economy, that is, the need to overcome the crisis, to halt the decline of industrial production, and to back the refloating of agriculture. In order to beat current difficulties, he said, an urgent program has to be articulated against the crisis, with provisions that should be landmarks for the future government's immediate activity. He meant the establishment of measures to take the country through the coming winter, as well as a coherent program for the next four-year term that should ensure the refloating of economy and new jobs. Ion Iliescu stressed he was for "the promotion of a modern, dynamic, and efficient market economy, placed at the service of the whole society's interests and those of the people living on honest working."

National Unity Party of Romanians' [PUNR] candidate Gheorghe Funar criticized [Romanian President] Ion Iliescu for "having forgotten to present the condition the country has been brought in during the interval of time he [Iliescu] was president." Showing that he had not

accepted "recommendations" in this presidential race and would not take any after winning it, either, from the East or from the West alike, Funar said he proposed to the Romanian nation "a credible, necessary, realistic, and feasible economic and social protection program for Romania," reiterating his belief that agriculture could be redressed in two years at the most and Romania's production capacities could be returned to their potential of 1989 in two years at the most, unemployment could be eradicated, and the Romanian territories [reference to the Republic of Moldova] reunited in this interval of time. Funar stated that a switch had to be achieved in Romania on 27 September, and that should be achieved in a democratic manner, by "halting the process of undermining the national economy and by reactuating the economic activity through domestic forces first of all." The PUNR candidate again rejected his opponents' accusations of chauvinism and extremism.

[Republican Party candidate] Ioan Manzatu said again he did not want to make vain promises, the way his opponents did, considering it more natural instead to point to some of the big issues Romania has to cope with. He enlarged upon the difficult situation in economy and social life. He said inter alia that "education, research, and culture are collapsing" and that "health protection is more precarious than ever." The Republican Party candidate said he had "pondered solutions" to all this, but they will have to be materialized by the future parliament and the future government, stressing that he understood the president's mission as that of an exponent of the nation, "keeping equal distance from the parliament and the government, so as to be able to represent everyone, especially those threatened by abuses and the poor ones."

Democratic Convention of Romania [CDR] candidate Emil Constantinescu rejected Ion Iliescu's accusations that he would plan to reinstate an unjust rule and trigger off a "hunt for communists," saying that he would never allow for the remaking of the big [privately owned] land estates, that he would "fight" for higher peasant pensions, and would see to it that no one be punished or persecuted for political reasons. He accused President Iliescu of "avoiding a serious political discussion" about his responsibility after two and a half years in which he held "the absolute power," a period of time in which "he concealed the truth or tolerated its concealing." Addressing the electorate, the CDR candidate said that "in order to finally hear the truth, the Romanians have to elect another president."

[Independent candidate] Mircea Druc said that he realized today more than ever that "Romania needs an independent and equidistant president." He said the three major and urgent targets of Romania and of all of its citizens were: Civic, social, religious and ethnical pacification, recovery of the national economy and the reunion of the Romanian territories." The independent candidate said the respective targets were interrelated and, ultimately, Romania's issues are not those regarding the left, right, center-left, or center-right orientation, but vital issues, survival and reunification first of all." He urged all citizens to report to the polling stations, in spite of their thwarted illusions, showing that their brothers across the Prut River [in the Republic of Moldova] fared even worse but that did not kill their will.

PUNR's Funar: 'Ceausescu Pursued Good Policy'

AU2309123792 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1008 GMT 23 Sep 92

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 23/9/1992—"All in all, Ceausescu pursued a good policy of safeguarding Romania's integrity and sovereignty. Yet, he was wrong when he granted privileges to the Hungarian minority, like the holding of political and professional leading posts on ethnic criteria," stated in an interview with the weekly 22 Gheorghe Funar, candidate of the National Unity Party of Romanians (PUNR) for president. He said Budapest leaders, Hungarian irredentists, and extremist leaders of the Democratic Union of Hungarians in Romania (UDMR) showed concern as to Transylvania's annexation to Hungary. "Such an intention is materialized in the existence of 801 anti-Romanian organizations on Romania's territory. The latest to have joined them is [the U.S. based] Soros Foundation. I am convinced that UDMR leaders work hand in hand with Budapest leaders. A proof of it is also the way in which UDMR and other Hungarian youth groupings in the country are organized, just as their possessing of armament and the military training of thousands of Transylvanian youths in Hungary to prepare a civil war."

"In the future parliament PUNR hopes to get more than 25 percent of seats. We shall conclude alliances with the Greater Romania Party [PRM], the Agrarian Democratic Party of Romania [PDAR], the National Liberal Party [PNL] and, maybe, with the Republican Party. In no way shall we associate with the Democratic Convention, the UDMR, and the National Salvation Front of [former premier] Petre Roman because it is among them that there are most who promoted an anti-Romanian policy and still do it in government," said Mr. Funar.

Foreign Minister Refutes Constantinescu Statement

AU1709203692 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1855 GMT 17 Sep 92

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 17/9/1992—In a letter Romanian Foreign Minister Adrian Nastase addressed to the candidate of the Democratic Convention of Romania (CDR) for presidency, Emil Constantinescu, with regard to certain foreign policy topics he approached in the electoral Radio broadcast on September 16 on Romania's treaty with the Former Soviet Union and its relationships with the Republic of Moldova, the minister considers that the stance taken by the CDR nominee is conducive to erroneous assessments and conclusions.

So, Mr. Nastase reproaches Mr. Constantinescu of having not said who was about when asserting that "Western and American opinion was clear when saying that Bessarabia must unite with Romania and come back to within the frontiers before Romania's borders had been violated forcefully under the Ribbentrop-Molotov Pact," because "none of the decisionmakers in Western Europe and North America backed or encouraged in any way the idea of Romania's regaining the boundaries prior to the pact." "Our country cannot and will not take any action but within a generally accepted political framework on a European plane, more particularly under the CSCE and the Paris Charter for a new Europe," says the foreign minister. "In this context, the thesis was approved of according to which there are two independent Romanian states with special relations between them as a significant step in the historical process to peacefully bring reparations to the consequences of the Ribbentrop-Molotov Pact for Romania," underscored he.

As for the treaty with the former Soviet Union, the letter specifies that it was concluded at a time when nobody could foresee the disappearance of the Soviet empire at the beginning of 1991. "So, the treaty gave, for the first time after the war, the possibility of establishing a direct and unhampered relationship with the Republic of Moldova."

FSN Hold News Conference on Electoral Issues

AU2309185192 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1653 GMT 23 Sep 92

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 23/9/1992—Wednesday, September 23, the National Salvation Front (FSN) called its last news conference in this election campaign. Attending were FSN Leader Petre Roman, Caius Traian Dragomir, candidate for Romania's Presidency, Victor Babiuc, interior minister in the present cabinet, and Adrian Vilau, FSN spokesman. The opinions of this party were set forth during the news conference about the other forces involved in the campaign.

Post-election alliances could be possible only to the extent to which "an agreement is reached on the package of social and economic measures that have to be taken to accomplish the reform in Romania," the news conference was told. As to the files existing at the security department it was mentioned that "they had been, since March 1990, at the disposal of the Romanian Intelligence Service chief, therefore they should be checked by a Parliamentary Commission before being made public."

Regarding the political involvement or non-involvement of trade unions, Caius Traian Dragomir, FSN candidate for Romania's Presidency, reiterated the idea according to which "trade unions are involved in the political life due to their participation in the economic life." Property must be protected and cultivated and the right of property must be guaranteed, the news conference was also told. Victor Babiuc made some points at the end of the meeting with the journalists in connection with the measures taken by the Interior Ministry to provide proper conditions for the two events organized by the Democratic Convention of Romania and the Romanian National Unit Party in the capital city in the same area and at the same hour.

PSD 'Constantin Titel Petrescu' To Support Funar

AU2309165792 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1536 GMT 23 Sep 92

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 23/9/1992—The last news conference of the "Constantin Titel Petrescu" Social Democratic Party [PSD] before the September 27 general elections took place Wednesday, September 23, at the party's headquarters.

"The reason we organized this meeting with the press—said Mircea Stanescu, the party's president—is that we wanted to inform the center-left electorate of our opinions as to social and political life in Romania at this time." Among the topics the party's leadership discussed was the cooperation relationship with the transports trade unions, especially with the railways trade unions, and it was explained that it was a cooperation between a party and the trade unions, not a merger.

"We do not pretend to hold the monopoly of the Romanian social democracy, but we wish to draw the electorate's attention to the fact that certain people, like Messrs. Sergiu Cunescu, Lucian Cornescu and Petre Roman pretend to be its only representatives" said Mr. Stanescu.

The party's leadership recommended that its members and followers vote for that presidential candidate who fights against corruption, the current savage capitalism and who is a good patriot. In the party's view, these traits are characteristic only of Mr. Gheorghe Funar, candidate on behalf of the Romanian National Unity Party.

Coposu Calls for 'Civilized' Campaign

AU1609130392 Bucharest DREPTATEA in Romanian 11 Sep 92 pp 1, 3

[Interview with Corneliu Coposu, president of the National Peasant Christian Democratic Party, by Mariana Sipos—place and date not given: "Corneliu Coposu about the 'Coposu Danger'"]

[Text] [Sipos] Mr. President, in his so-called electoral campaign, Mr. Iliescu has recently intensified his attacks against the Democratic Convention of Romania [CDR], against Mr. Emil Constantinescu, and particularly against you. After his warnings about civil war, he invented the "Coposu danger"—this is what he actually called it—which allegedly hangs over the entire country. How do you explain this reaction, at a time when the government, and even Mr. Iliescu himself, speaks about a civilized electoral campaign?

[Coposu] Indeed, it is quite surprising that I am again the target of slanderous and unjustified attacks. In my entire political career, I have never resorted to personal attacks. I have always attacked ideas that are not in accordance with our principles, with democratic principles, and with the spirit of a state of law and a civilized society. It is surprising that he is now directing his attacks against me, too, even though I am not even running for the presidency, and all the more so since they are totally devoid of any grounds whatsoever. This whole thing is simply a calumny. In all my speeches and papers, I have always talked about the need for reconciliation in Romanian society. I have drawn a precise distinction between those responsible for the country's disaster and the large mass of due-paying Communist Party members, by particularly emphasizing the fact that we do not engage in any witch hunting and that we do not want to point the finger at those people who for certain reasons, be they professional, family, or personal ones, joined the Communist Party and accepted the payment of membership dues to that party. They have nothing in common with the true criminals. As far as the latter are concerned, we do not intend to take revenge upon them or to substitute ourselves for the judiciary. The judiciary will pass verdict on the guilty ones, without the political groupings becoming involved in this process of clarifying matters and purging the Romanian society vitiated by communism. I have often stated that the great majority of Securitate employees are honest people, who were only doing their duty to their country, and that the Romanian police are indispensable in a state of law; the mere fact of belonging to the law enforcement bodies, even to the institutions of repression, does not necessarily mean automatic guilt. To fabricate rumors that I intend to compile black lists and exclude large numbers of former communists from Romanian society is an aberration. I have said it before and I say it again: We will never interfere in the activities or the jurisdiction of the judiciary, and we do not intend to become involved in the search for the guilty ones. As for the equally aberrant claim that we want to reintroduce the fiefdoms of the past great landowners or the monopoly of the industrialists over Romanian industry, these are ridiculous and totally unsubstantiated allegations and simple calumnies to mislead public opinion. It is natural to be taken aback by these violent, groundless, and uncorroborated attacks, particularly since I have never made direct attacks against individuals, but rather against their political concepts, particularly Marxist ones, which have had a noxious effect upon society for more than 40 years, including the past two and a half years of crypto-communist rule. Finding reasons to attack me for my firm stand in favor of eradicating crypto-communism is enough for those ambitious people who took over power and want to prolong their governmental agony. Nevertheless, from their attacks and conduct in the electoral campaign, I must conclude that instead of coming before the Romanian electorate with a valid program to take us out of the current economic, social, and moral impasse, they are limiting themselves to attacks on their political opponents. This is neither fair play, nor a civilized electoral campaign. Next, I may be blamed for the failure of the coup in Moscow or even for Stalin's death. I realize that these people are longing for the past and are being directly irritated by my steadfastly anticommunist attitude—but I repeat, I am against communist ideas, not the communists; still, I believe that these people should behave in a more moderate and civilized manner, out of sheer decency. I do not want to become entangled in useless polemics with people who have lost their nerves and composure and who are desperately looking for subterfuges in order to stand up to the hostility of Romanian public opinion. I believe that the Romanian people, thanks to their intuition and recent experiences, will opt for a saving solution for Romania, so as to overcome the current impasse.

[Sipos] Beyond the political and moral crisis facing the country, the peasants pose the most important problem. Unfortunately, newspapers hardly ever reach the villages. How will the CDR manage to convince those people who only watch television and still believe that Iliescu is the one who gave them their land?

[Coposu] Unfortunately, we are hampered by our lack of material resources and means of communications. At the same time, Romanian Television, which is totally subservient to the political authorities, is misleading the public most of the time. Of course, we cannot fight with what we have available against this arsenal, which controls all the country's material and transportation resources and has unlimited financial resources. Nevertheless, I believe that Romanian common sense will prevail. The people, who have been grossly lied to, are beginning to awaken. The people will know how to choose between the distortions delivered by the television station in the electoral campaign and the reality, which is far removed from these.

[Sipos] Another "impromptu" thing Mr. Iliescu came up with was the reiteration—accompanied by his well known gestures of irritation—of the idea that in the past two years the opposition has done nothing but create disorder through street demonstrations and protests. Mr. Iliescu cannot fathom that the opposition is capable of organizing civilized demonstrations, as in any state of law, and that those responsible for disorder and incidents are the very elements which support him. How do you interpret this distortion of reality and reversal of roles, which Mr. Iliescu is committing without realizing that morality should be the primary quality of a statesman?

[Coposu] I believe that the claims are rather precarious, given the fact that everybody knows who organized and staged all the confrontations between 22 and 29 December [1989]. Everybody knows who organized the coup of 28-29 January [1990]. Everybody knows who called the miners to Bucharest, who thanked them for the valuable assistance given to the political authorities, and who is responsible for the vandalism, terror, and crimes committed during the reestablishment of "order" which the political authorities themselves imposed in June

1990 through staged maneuvers and trickery. The opposition tried to combat those repressive laws, which bore the imprint of Marxist-Leninism; it opposed them by voting against them and claiming the moral justification to amend and abrogate them. The opposition, corseted though it has been by the terror and violence of the party in power, did its duty for the good of the country. Of course, after the 20 May 1990 electoral fraud, the party in power has ensured for itself a comfortable majority in Parliament, which has enabled it to draft any laws it pleases. However, all these laws, if scrutinized closely, evince their Marxist-Leninist nature and the authorities' longing for the past. We have struggled against them. We have done our duty in the interest of the country and the Romanian people. To the extent that our attitude has been registered by the public at large, we are confident that the people will react, as they did during the administrative elections, by castigating the crypto-communist political authorities for all the divergences from democratic principles, for all the bottlenecks in our transition to a market economy, and for all the obstacles to reinstating democratic institutions in Romania. We are optimistic and trust in the common sense and wisdom of the Romanian people, who will have their say on 27 September.

Greens Support Constantinescu in Election

AU2309163792 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1601 GMT 23 Sep 92

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 23/9/1992—The last news conference of the Romanian Ecologist Movement [MER] before the September 27 elections took place in Bucharest Wednesday, September 23.

Mr. Emil Racoviteanu, MER vice president, spoke inter alia about: the MER's representation all over the country, pointing out that it had filed complete slates in all constituencies, and no contestation against any MER candidate had been filed; the lack of real grounds for the opinion polls, either owing to their being subject to servitude (IRSOP), or to the lack of accurate computing equipment. Mr. Racoviteanu underscored that the MER fought for the promotion of an idea and not of men, opining that his party was "the most modern one, with an ideology which will be an alternative for the third millennium."

Answering the questions of the attending journalists, the MER vice president stated that in the first ballot the ecologists would support Emil Constantinescu [Democratic Convention candidate] for the presidential office, but that whoever the Romanian president would turn out to be he would have to be aware of an objective reality—ecology.

Opinion Poll Shows FDSN, Iliescu Leading

AU2309202592 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1523 GMT 23 Sep 92

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 23/9/1992—According to a nationwide opinion poll made by the Romanian Institute for Opinion Polls (IRSOP) on the request of national news agency ROMPRES, over September 21-23 the Romanian electorate would vote as follows:

Democratic National Salvation Front	(FDSN)	25 per cent
The Democratic Convention of Romania	(CDR)	24 p.c.
National Salvation Front	(FSN)	11 p.c.
Romanian National Unity Party	(PUNR)	9 p.c.
Democratic Union of Hungarians in Romania	(UDMR)	5 p.c.
Agrarian Democratic Party of Romania	(PDAR)	5 p.c.
Romania Mare Party	(RMP)	5 p.c.
National Liberal Party	(PNL)	4 p.c.
Socialist Labor Party	(PSM)	3 p.c.

As to the candidates for the presidential office, the opinion poll evinces the following order of preferences:

Ion Iliescu	(FDSN)	38 per cent
Emil Constantinescu	(CDR)	31 p.c.
Gheorghe Funar	(PUNR)	14 p.c.
Ioan Manzatu	(Republican Party)	5 p.c.
Caius Traian Dragomir	(FSN)	5 p.c
Mircea Druc	(Independent)	2 p.c.

The poll was made among a sample of 1,111 persons over the age of 17, with a structure that is representative of the Romanian adult population's structure. The persons who were interviewed were selected according to the technique of the quotas, by successive stratification, in 116 urban and rural settlements picked at random all over Romania's territory. The sample agrees with the statistic data on Romania's population per sex, age, occupation, residence area, education level, size of the dwelling settlement and nationality. IRSOP allows for a plus or minus three per cent error margin.

Karadzic Agrees To 'Demilitarize' Sarajevo

LD2309201992 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1909 GMT 23 Sep 92

[Text] Belgrade, Sept 23 (TANJUG)—Bosnian Serb leader Radovan Karadzic said on Wednesday [23 September] he agreed to the proposal to demilitarize Sarajevo put forth by international mediators at the Geneva talks on Bosnia-Hercegovina.

The Serb side insisted several months ago on a demilitarization of the zone around the airport in Sarajevo, the capital of the war-battered former Yugoslav republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina, Karadzic told reporters in Belgrade.

The proposal was officially tabled on Tuesday before delegations of the three warring sides in Bosnia-Hercegovina—Muslims, Serbs and Croats—which resumed proximity talks in Geneva after a four-day break. The talks are mediated by Finnish diplomat Martti Antisaari.

Karadzic said he had brought back favourable impressions of the first round of talks and added that they stood every chance of success. My optimism is based on the fact that the mediators did not try to impose any solutions, but took as their point of departure proposals made by the warring sides, said Karadzic and added that the mediators were taking no sides.

"It is bad, however, that the Muslim side is still not ready for direct talks, but the Croats' willingness is encouraging," he said.

Karadzic reiterated that the Serb side urged an end to the war and said he was convinced that the Croats wanted the same, at least ostensibly.

On the other hand, the Muslims' attempt to prolong the fighting is "alarming and can jeopardize the talks," he explained.

Karadzic said the war in Bosnia-Hercegovina could be ended immediately if the international community wanted. All it should do is to impose sanctions on Croatia and order it to withdraw its 60,000 troops from Bosnia-Hercegovina, he added.

The world should also make it clear to the Muslims that the recognition of Bosnia-Hercegovina must be annulled, said Karadzic.

At least 3,000 mujaheddin from Islamic countries are fighting alongside the Bosnian Muslims ... If volunteers from the Islamic world continue to arrive in Bosnia, the Bosnian Serbs will also welcome volunteers from the Christian world, said Karadzic.

In that case, we would not only have a religious war in Bosnia, but an intercontinental war as well, he warned.

The Bosnian Serb leader praised the decision to send between 6,000 and 8,500 U.N. peacekeepers to Bosnia to protect humanitarian convoys.

Asked whether the Serb heavy artillery at Jajce and Bihac had been placed under U.N. control, Karadzic replied that the Serb side was ready to receive the monitors but that the U.N. Protection Force was understaffed.

Karadzic Clarifies Position on 'Independent State'

AU2309170792 Paris AFP in English 1658 GMT 23 Sep 92

[Excerpts] Belgrade, Sept 23 (AFP)—[passage omitted] The leader of Serbs in Bosnia-Hercegovina Radovan Karadzic Wednesday [23 September] strongly denounced Yugoslavia's exclusion from the United Nations, saying it was a "disgrace for the international community."[passage omitted]

Karadzic added he would make "no further concesssions in Bosnia."

"If the international community refuses the model for a confederation that we are proposing, we would have nothing against an independent state and an alliance with other Serbs," Karadzic declared at a press conference here Wednesday.

Karadzic's "Serbian Republic" could still ask to join Serbia in the new Yugoslavia, he added. [passage omitted]

Izetbegovic, Tudjman To Coordinate Defense Efforts

LD2409104992 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2351 GMT 23 Sep 92

[Text] New York, 23 Sep (TANJUG)—Following their three-hour meeting behind closed doors at the United Nations, [Bosnia-Hercegovina President] Alija Izetbegovic and [Croatian President] Franjo Tudjman announced that they were forming a joint military committee with the task, as they described it, of "coordinating their defense efforts." They also jointly called for the lifting of the embargo on imports of weapons to Bosnia-Hercegovina and Croatia.

At their joint press conference, Izetbegovic and Tudjman said that they had signed an addendum to the agreement on military and other forms of cooperation reached in Zagreb earlier this year.

Alija Izetbegovic answered negatively to a question on whether he had received support from anyone for his demand to lift the embargo on selling weapons to Bosnia-Hercegovina. As we have learned, this demand is on the agenda of a meeting of the Organization of Islamic Countries, which is being held behind closed doors and on which an official statement will not be issued until tomorrow. For the time being, Croatia is the

only country to support both for its part and on behalf of Bosnia-Hercegovina the demand in the United Nations for the lifting of the arms embargo.

The motives for the present amendment to the agreement, as assessed, could be found in the intention to legalize, in a way, the military presence of Croatia in Bosnia-Hercegovina, about which the U.S. press has recently written in detail and with evident knowledge of the situation. Details about this were also revealed by Yugoslav Premier Milan Panic in a debate in the UN General Assembly, assessing it as "an example of double standards."

When asked about the Croatian military presence in Bosnia-Hercegovina at this press conference, Alija Izetbegovic confirmed that "there are units of this army around Dubrovnik," but that they would withdraw when he asked them to, he said. However, he did not reveal any figures. Izetbegovic was inundated with questions on how his proposals about the internal organization of Bosnia-Hercegovina fitted in with his idea on the organization of the state as outlined in his "Islamic declaration."

SRNA Blames Muslims for Wounding UN Troops

LD2309191992 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1849 GMT 23 Sep 92

[Excerpts] Belgrade, Sept 23 (TANJUG)—Two French members of the United Nations' Protection Force (UNPROFOR) in Yugoslavia were wounded on Wednesday [23 September] in Sarajevo, the capital of war-torn Bosnia-Hercegovina, the Bosnian Serbs' news agency SRNA said.

The troops were wounded when a mortar shell, fired from Muslim positions, burst in the vicinity of UNPROFOR Headquarters in the city, SRNA said. [passage omitted]

SRNA said that Muslim forces had shelled the Serb-populated section of Sarajevo's suburb of Dobrinja during the delivery of humanitarian aid, and had then gone on to shell Bosnian Serb positions in the suburb of Vojkovici.

The incidents coincided with a visit to Sarajevo's Serb suburb of Ilidza of the UNPROFOR Deputy Commander, French General Philippe Morillon, but the Serb side did not respond to the provocations, SRNA said.

U.N. and UNPROFOR sources have not confirmed the report of the wounding of the two French troops.

'Chetniks' Reportedly Continue Ethnic Cleansing

AU2309160092

[Editorial report] Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Hercegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian at 1400 GMT on 23 September gives the following account of the situation in the republic:

A statement by the Information Service of the Headquarters of the Supreme Command of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Armed Forces says: "In the course of the last 24 hours the enemy has mostly used air power to accomplish the objectives of the offensive. To judge from his actions, the aggressor has not accomplished the objectives and ambitions of this offensive, which started some six to seven days ago. The aggressor's efforts, the input of material and technical resources, and losses in manpower and military hardware are highly disproportionate to what has been realized." Correspondent from Doboj Mirudin Aldobasic says that "fierce battles" in the region are being fought "almost without a break." He reports that the enemy is also using 152 and 155 mm howitzers, the use of which is prohibited by international convention. The enemy in Putnikovo Brdo and Potocani is pounding Ularice and Alibegovci, he says and continues to say that fierce mortar and infantry battles were fought on the western part of the front this morning.

A report by the Information Center of Gradacac war presidency reports that an artillery attack "on the lines of the Gradacac defenders around Mionica and Liporasce is still going on." The report assures the listeners that the defense lines "have not been moved by so much as a millimeter."

An announcer-read report says that "the aggressor's army offensive on the Tesanj region, which was mounted three days ago, is continuing today. The enemy's target is the village of Sije, which they are pounding with 155 mm howitzers." The report states that four people have been killed in this attack but adds that the "fighters from Sije were very successful in destroying two enemy machine-gun nests and the communication center on Mt. Ozren."

In his report from the Zenica region, correspondent Mujo Delibegovic gives the following account of the situation in the latest crisis spot of Maglaj: "Maglaj has been shelled fiercely for two days. This was the case yesterday and again this morning. From the left bank of the River Bosna the chetniks attempted an infantry breakthrough but our defenders successfully repulsed it. A part of the aggressor's forces crossed the River Bosna in the region of (?Poljice)." The reporter says that Maglaj is "being shelled frantically with all kinds of weapons, even those of the highest calibers." According to Delibegovic, there are no reliable reports on caualty figures yet, but he adds that "it is known that massacres of the residents is under way in some regions on the right bank of river Bosna." He then says that "an enemy aircraft" at approximately 0800 GMT this morning also opened fire on Maglaj and the positions of the defenders.

An announcer-read report states that "11 patients died and more than 20 patients were wounded by a tank grenade that hit the chest department of Bihac hospital" yesterday. The report also says that UN Protection Force observers have already inspected the scene of the attack.

Josip Teklic in his dispatch from Livno says that "there is nothing new" in the region, stating "that an illusionary

peace prevailed last night and in the early morning hours." Teklic, among other things, reports "that a group of Muslims from Banja Luka" arrived in Livno last night. He says that the refugees claim "they had to leave Banja Luka and sign a statement that they are leaving their property of their own free will to the Serbian Republic of Bosnian Krajina."

Serbian Forces Reportedly Receiving Reinforcements

AU2309202292

[Editorial report] Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Hercegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian at 1700 GMT on 23 September carries more reports on fighting in the Republic:

Correspondent Suada Alic, who is reporting from the Sarajevo Security Services' Center, in her update on the situation in Sarajevo says that "the evening hours in Sarajevo are again filled with grenade explosions" and that 12 residents were wounded by six grenades that landed in Novo Sarajevo. She says that the enemy shelled the outskirts of communes of Stari Grad, Novi Grad, Centar, Novo Sarajevo, and Vogosca. "The activity of enemy antiaircraft machine guns and antiaircraft guns at Sokolje, Pero Kosoric Square, and Stari Grad is especially pronounced," Alic continues. She reports that several people were wounded by a tank that was firing on Darovalaca Krvi Street. "The aggressor is shelling all the quarters of Dobrinja this evening," she continues and reports that seven people were wounded in Dobrinja this morning. "As regards Vogosca, all the free territories were peppered with grenades," Alic reports.

Neven Andjelic, in his roundup on the situation in the republic, mentions that "a regrouping of enemy forces was observed in the greater Sarajevo region, especially around Vogosca." He says that "the chetniks" attacked Visegrad from all directions, and concentrated "a great number of armored combat vehicles and artillery, while their infantry units were reinforced by chetniks from Krajina, Prijedor, Banja Luka, and by volunteers from Serbia, among whom there are also Romanian mercenaries." "It is a fact that there are some 5,000 chetniks fighting on the territory of the communes of Visegad, Rudo, and Rogatica," Andjelic concludes. He also reports that "fierce battles have been fought in Doboj over the last 60 hours."

A report by the Information Service of the Gradacac war presidency opens by saying "the chetniks have redirected their attacks toward the northern part of the commune, at Omeragici, Uskici, and (?Ledenice)." The report says that enemy artillery in that part of the front is firing from Gajevi, Misici, and Borovo Polje. The report then claims that one person died in the shelling and continues to say: "Our scouts noticed new enemy troop movements. Some 20 trucks are advancing from Bosanski Samac toward Gajevi. These contain mostly men, ammunition, and heavy weapons." The report also claims that some 300 Muslims, including mentally retarded children, are stranded in a village near Modrica.

A report by the Brcko press center begins by saying: "As we have learned in the command of the 108th Brcko Brigade our surveillance units in the course of the day have observed movements of the units of the Chetnik army in order to provide reinforcements." According to the report, the enemy intensified the activities of his artillery at approximately 1100 GMT to facilitate these movements, concentrating the attacks "on the regions in which the Greater Serbian ground corridor is the thinnest—on the outskirts of Omerbegovaca, Dizdarusa, Fourth of July, Rijeke, Brod, and Brodusa." According to the report "the cannonade" failed to achieve any results, "as our lines continue to be resolutely defended." The report also states that nobody was wounded or killed in the attack.

Hajrudin Permic in his dispatch from Maglaj reports that "the entire territory of Maglaj is being systematically destroyed." According to him, the enemy, in addition to aircraft, tanks, and multiple rocket launchers, also used guided missiles and Luna missiles on this battlefield. Permic says that "the entire territory of the commune in the River Bosna valley" is suffering from the chetnik attacks. "The joint command of the town" is appealing for assistance in manpower "as it has been reported that the aggressor it about to receive reinforcements."

Gordana Ristovic in her dispatch from Jajce says "that fierce artillery" fire on the town's center started in the morning. The enemy was using mortars, howitzers, and tanks in the attack, she says. Then, she goes on, at 0815 GMT the "killers from the air" on five occasions dropped cluster and napalm bombs on the town, targeting mostly the main residential areas. She says that the defenders of the town are "successfully resisting all the attacks," and that "the members of the Croatian Defense Council destroyed two tanks and armored personnel carriers with some 30 chetniks in this morning's battles around Jajce 2 Hydropower Plant. Ristovic also says that the defenders of the town anticipate that the enemy will attempt more infantry breakthroughs at the part of the front line closest to the town center from the direction of (?Skela), (?Reka), and (?Bage).

Serb Plane Downed in Bosanski Air Attacks

LD2309193292 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 23 Sep 92

[Text] According to a report that we have just received, enemy aircraft strafed and bombed positions of the Croatian Defense Council on the Bosanski Brod-Derventa battlefield and also civilian targets in Korace and Novo Selo in the municipality of Bosanski Brod. Two people were killed in the air attack. The anti-aircraft defense of the Croatian Defense Council succeeded in downing one enemy aircraft. Because of its defeats on

the battlefield the enemy also attacked Bosanski Brod where approximately 40 bombs fell, but there were no casualties.

Sarajevo Radio Details Medical, Surgical Needs

AU2309083192 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Hercegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 22 Sep 92

[Text] The hygienic and epidemic situation in Bosnia-Hercegovina and Sarajevo is worsening further with the new shortage of water and electricity. The number of new cases of enterocolitis is slowly decreasing. Up to today, 6,242 cases of enterocolitis have been reported, out of which 2,904 are in Sarajevo. Citizens are warned to take precautions when it comes to water and food. The need for medicine and sanitary materials in the republic and Sarajevo is increasing. The most needed sanitary materials are gauze, dressing material, external fixers [spoljasnji fiksatori], and all surgical instruments, and as for medicine, anesthetics, antibiotics, disinfectants, sedatives, antidiabetics, antihypertensives, and others are needed.

The worst shortage of medicine is in Visegrad, Jajce, Srebrnica, Zepa, and Zvornik. In Sarajevo, apart from the aforementioned medicine, there is an urgent need for nitrogen oxygen, oil for power generators, and disinfectants.

According to the information received thus far from Mostar, Gradacac, Jajce, Bugojno, Stolac, Tuzla, Zenica, Travnik, and Sarajevo, in the last 24 hours 25 people have been killed, and 216 wounded, out of which 14 were killed in Sarajevo, and 108 wounded.

Details of Croatian-Muslim Conflict Examined

92BA1414B Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 8 Sep 92 p 9

[Article by Branka Mitrovic: "Whose Flag Is Going To Wave"]

[Text] It was known that an open conflict had been going on for a long time already between units of the Croatian Defense Council [HVO] and the Muslim forces under the command of Alija Izetbegovic even before the "admission" the day before yesterday by Velimir Maric, the top man in the Sarajevo HVO. Not only is he present at the heart of B-H [Bosnia-Hercegovina], but, as the Croats now say, "everywhere where there is evidence of Croatian authority being negated and where there have been more frequent provocations by the Muslims, and that is most pronounced in Herceg-Bosnia." In Stup, a part of Sarajevo which is under control of the Croatian forces, Maric told newsmen that the cause of the conflict between the HVO and the Muslim forces lay in differing options as to the future arrangement of the state of B-H. The main culprit, according to him, is precisely Alija Izetbegovic, who advocates the option of a civil state, which is extremely unacceptable to the Croatian people.

The Muslim side has not left these charges unanswered, although the public has not had an opportunity to hear very much about the increasingly frequent squabbling of those who until recently were strong allies. It almost seems like a rule, for instance, that when the correspondents of Sarajevo radio in various parts of B-H have reported that something was going on between the Croatian and Muslim armies, the newscaster on duty would inform listeners that just at that point they lost contact with the reporters. If what was said gave some idea of what was involved, the same day or the next day there would inevitably be denials.

Where Is the Border?

But at precisely the time when Major General Blaz Kraljevic, whose fighting name is Ero, was killed on 9 August in Krusevo near Mostar, news about the conflict between the HVO and the Muslim units, but also between the HVO and HOS [Croatian Defense Forces], began to break through what amounted to a news blockade. HOS units, it was reported at the time, had been recognizing the legitimacy and legality of the civil authorities and military commands in Sarajevo, while HVO units did not want to do that, even though they had become part of the joint military force of B-H. Which means that they were operating on their own, and Blaz Kraljevic's excessive ties to the Muslims, in view of the task of the Croats in B-H to strictly separate Croatian territories for Croats, did more than get on their nerves.

The very day before his murder, which many in Herceg-Bosnia blame directly on the HVO, Kraljevic declared, for instance, that the Croatian Defense Council was solely to blame for the conflicts between Muslims and the HVO in Travnik.

"We are fighting for a state which will be free. It is not important whether the borders are on the Drina, a little bit this way or a little bit that way. Everything depends on the will of the Croatian and Muslim people who live here. And from the time of Starcevic to this day it has been clear to everyone who has any knowledge of Croatian history that the Croatian Rights Party [HSP] has always been a party of Muslims and Catholics. We have strong sympathies with the Muslims. We consider them our brothers, real brothers, and we want to defend B-H along with them," Blaz Kraljevic said at that time in an interview with GLOBUS of Zagreb.

The very day after Kraljevic was riddled with bullets, his deputy, Colonel Ivica Primorac, transferred from the ranks of the HOS into the ranks of the HVO. He immediately justified this by saying that he was disappointed with the HOS, which had actually become the MOS [Muslim Defense Forces].

"The number of Muslims in the HOS has been growing steadily, and the number of Croats diminishing. In Stolac, there was not a single Croat in the HOS, and in Mostar there was an HOS unit with only 12 Croats. Participating as a commander of the HOS in talks with leaders of the SDA [Democratic Action Party] and the

B-H TO [Territorial Defense], I realized that the HOS was operating more and more against the political objectives and political interests of the Croatian people in B-H. This realization offended me, especially because certain leaders of the Croatian Rights Party were consciously allowing the HOS to wage war in someone else's interest. Especially when I realized that the responsible people in the HOS were consenting to place themselves under the command of the so-called B-H TO, in whose top leadership, I assert with full responsibility for what I say, there are 26 war criminals from Croatia," Primorac said.

The Power Struggle

And Ivan Andabak, commander of the special antiterrorist unit, who just four days before Kraljevic's murder ordered that strong police patrols reinforced with members of his unit be set up at all approaches to Mostar and also in the city itself, confirmed that there was indeed a conflict between Muslims and the HVO in the region where Kraljevic was, that is, around Mostar.

"I made that decision on my own initiative, without anyone's order, and because of the danger that the Muslims and 'lilies' of Alija Izetbegovic might take power in Mostar, which has always been a Croatian city. The commanders of the military police in Mostar and Grude look askance anyway at the HOS, which on our side is equated fairly often with the KOS [Counterintelligence Service]," Andabak says.

And from the statements of many who hold authority in the Croatian Community of Herceg-Bosnia broadcast or published in the Croatian media, the HOS is perceived more and more as a cuckoo's egg in the nest of the Muslims and Izetbegovic. The tendency, it is asserted, is to play down the HVO and its victories and to favor the HOS. Even Izetbegovic himself is reproached in Zagreb for praising and overestimating the units of the HOS. In this way, it is felt, the HVO is being eliminated, and at the moment of final victory over the Serbian aggressor the HOS would be proclaimed fascist and dropped out of the game through the use of the Ustashi and Ante Pavelic, to which the HSP and its units appeal. In this way, only the Muslims would remain as the liberators of B-H. Mate Boban, president of the Croatian Community of Herceg-Bosnia, spoke in a similar context the other day.

So, this power struggle which is obviously a permanent feature is also being conducted both about attribution of credit for liberation of territory, but also because of differences in thinking about whether soldiers of the HVO should or should not be fighting for Nevesinje, Bileca, or Vlasenica. Izetbegovic is giving this every consideration, they feel in Zagreb, because, it is said, the Muslims are mainly fleeing from the battlefield, and unlike the HOS, the Croatian Defense Council has already marked out its territory and has no intention of becoming involved in those areas. That is, they feel in the HVO, Izetbegovic is favoring the HOS because he is fighting for all of Bosnia-Hercegovina, while in Grude the integrity of this republic is recognized in a diplomatic way, but only within the limits of the defined ethnic communities.

Armin Pohara, a journalist who at this point is playing the role of the Antun Tus of B-H, is also a stumbling block between the Muslims and Croats and reports about him are coming in from the Sava Valley to the effect that he is a criminal, a fake, and a war profiteer. It is also said that a big struggle is being waged over division of the booty and the aid arriving in Hercegovina from abroad. The HOS and Muslims are openly accusing the HVO of keeping the aid from them and also of taking shipments of arms strictly intended for them. The Muslims, then, do not want to join the army of Mate Boban under any circumstances, they particularly reproach him for agreements with Radovan Karadzic, the Serbian leader. These latent conflicts as a rule end tragically, and once again it is the innocent inhabitants of Hercegovina that take the worst of it. All of this obviously indicates that the struggle to take power and the squabble over the future arrangement of B-H are in full swing.

Tudjman Comments on UN Suspension of FRY, Talks

LD2409003592 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 2000 GMT 23 Sep 92

[Report on statements by President Franjo Tudjman in New York on 23 September]

[Text] [Begin Tudjman recording] After Croatia's admission to the United Nations, the decision to suspend the former Yugoslavia from UN membership is the most important event in international relations not only for Croatia but for all the other states that have been emerging from the area of the former Yugoslavia, within its former international border.

This is a very interesting precedent in international politics. Then again, the unity which produced this decision is surprising—127 voted yes, only 6 no, with only 26 abstentions, although there was no formal or legal basis for such a precedent. Consequently, when the most responsible factors, in addition to the sponsor countries—the United States, Great Britain, and some 10 other countries—were on our side, when they arrived at the conclusion that such steps should be taken, it was primarily aimed at curbing the aggression, since they had concluded that military intervention could be questionable.

The world is not ready to get involved in the war and fighting to resolve the crisis in the area of the former Yugoslavia. As I said in the wake of the London conference, this is a signal that the international community has introduced decisive measures to curb and prevent further aggression and to bring about a lasting peace in these lands.

This was almost a watershed event in its implications for the crucial question of war or an end to the war in the area of the former Yugoslavia. [end recording]

Among his numerous meetings with foreign officials over the past three days at the UN General Assembly session, Croatian President Franjo Tudjman singled out the following as the most important:

[Begin Tudjman recording, in progress] "...by all accounts my conversation with UN Secretary General Butrus-Ghali. I was surprised how familiar he was even with some technicalities regarding the engagements of the UN Protection Force and the peace Conference on Yugoslavia. I should also mention my talks with UN General Assembly President Ganev. I had also very important talks with a number of other statesmen, the first of which was current U.S. Secretary of State Eagleburger. These were very extensive and sincere talks that gave us full satisfaction. I also met the Chinese minister for foreign affairs, Van den Broek, the German minister for foreign affairs, and a number of other statesmen.

One should not forget the talks I had with Alija Izetbegovic, president of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Presidency, which have not yet ended since we are preparing, perhaps, an addendum to the agreement on friendship and cooperation which we signed in Zagreb. Bosnia-Hercegovina is of course the most topical issue in all these talks. One should also mention that this is what I discussed with a representative of the community of Islamic countries.

The world is preoccupied with this issue but it has not been informed enough. All these talks contributed to an improved knowledge of not only our views but of the overall situation. All in all, our presence at this UN session contributed to the winding down of the Yugoslav flag, the flag of a country which was an artificial state at its very beginning and which did not survive beyond its original form.

We are talking here at a mission, the newly established Croatian mission to the UN. This means that one historic epoch has definitely ended in the area of the south Slavic peoples and that Croatia is going to be a UN member in every respect. It is now represented in a formal way by its own mission in the UN building. [end recording]

Government Comments on Sending Refugees Home

LD2209194792 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1500 GMT 22 Sep 92

[Text] At this moment, the primary task is the return of refugees to their homes, it was concluded at a session of the Croatian government today, presided over by Prime Minister Hrvoje Sarinic. Almost 90 percent of the refugees come from the pink zones and UN-patrolled areas. Further pressure will therefore be exercised, and help from the UN Protection Force and decisions from the UN Security Council will be sought regarding the urgent organization of refugees' return to these territories.

The return should start selectively in the eastern and western sectors. Because of the exhaustion of all its financial resources and facilities for the accommodation of refugees, the Republic of Croatia will, in compliance with international humanitarian law, strictly control its borders with Bosnia-Hercegovina. Transport of refugees from that state will be allowed provided that the UN High Commissioner for Refugees has negotiated their reception in other European countries, so that they are only in transit through the territory of the Republic of Croatia, not remaining in it for a single day. This also means that no letters of guarantee are to be valid.

The Government of the Republic of Croatia at the same time supports the construction of refugee centers in the safe zones of Bosnia-Hercegovina for all refugees from that state, and will provide help within the scope of its abilities. At the same time, the construction of any refugee centers on the territory of Croatia will not be permitted. States willing to help will be allowed to

construct and promote the construction of refugee centers in the zone of return or in its vicinity. Only house rebuilding projects for these areas will be accepted.

Zecevic: Talk With Panic 'Bitter,' 'Painful'

92BA1415G Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 4 Sep 92 p 6

[Article by "R.R.": "I Disputed the Prime Minister's Right To Represent the Serbian Republic Krajina"]

[Text] Knin, 3 Sep—Zdravko Zecevic, prime minister of the Republic of Serbian Krajina [RSK], denied today the "insinuations and imputations" concerning his conversation with Prime Minister Milan Panic about the status of the RSK.

"All the insinuations and imputations by Mr. Panic that have been published in the press and are related to the conversation with him concerning the status of the Serbian Republic Krajina I deny in the harshest terms," Zecevic declared to the Krajina news agency ISKRA.

"The truth in all this," Zecevic said, "is that in the airplane I had a bitter and painful conversation with Mr. Panic about the fate of the people and state of Krajina, challenging his right to represent the interests of the RSK."

Zecevic said that "Krajina is not for sale nor for trade, nor is it to be used as a token in political transactions."

Its people must and should decide its own fate, he said, and stressed that "there can be no political deals with those who have decided to obliterate us" and that "the secret agreements between Tudjman and Panic have no validity with the people of the RSK." This, Zecevic said, is the essence of the talk with Prime Minister Panic, whom he called "a tradesman dealing in Serbian interests."

Republics Allegedly Violate UN Sanctions

92BA1415C Zagreb NOVI VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 7 Sep 92 p 5

[Article by Sanja Smiljanic: "The Embargo Is Like Swiss Cheese"]

[Text] Zagreb—Three former Yugoslav republics have been singled out, but no mention is made of Slovenia. Referring to the possible new system of exports from the countries of the EC to the regions of the former Yugoslavia, when DELO sees a symbolic meaning in the move of the EC, it is forgetting the rationale behind it—that Slovenia simply has no border with Serbia and Montenegro.

What about the others, who through no fault of their own, border on the countries subject to the UN embargo? By Tuesday, the member countries of the EC are to decide on the proposed regime governing exports to Croatia, B-H [Bosnia-Hercegovina], and Macedonia, on which agreement has been reached in Coreper (Committee of Permanent Representatives), a body of the EC on which there are permanent representatives of the member countries.

Under the proposal, an import application, export permit, and certificates as to where the goods exported actually ended up would be required for exports from the countries of the EC to those three states. Goaded by the increasingly frequent violation of the UN embargo against Serbia and Montenegro, the EC commission proposed this kind of "tightening of the screws" back in early August. After Coreper at first rejected the proposal of the commission, further progress was made at the slow pace of diplomacy.

That is, all that has happened since then, aside from the report that the proposal has been sent to the member countries of the EC, that Slovenia, originally on the list, was deleted from it. If the EC members agree to the proposal, the new measures would go into effect as soon as the end of next week. The EC will insist that they be implemented, although in practice quite a few administrative complications can be anticipated.

It is difficult to forecast what if anything might "trip up" the proposal for export measures, but it is an old story that in an embargo everyone also sees the other side—what it costs him, or, if possible, how it could benefit him. Let us mention only the best-known example: Castro's island survived 30 years of a U.S. embargo, and U.S. businessmen last year alone sold the Cubans goods worth $700 million through channels running through Brazil, Canada, Mexico, and Switzerland.

The EC commission proposed the new trade measures in the first place because violations of the embargo had become widespread, making a trifle of one of the possible weapons for halting the tragedy in Bosnia. There have been abundant legal, political, and trade loopholes, valleys, and tunnels for a game of miniature golf in which the embargo is the ball. The smuggling of petroleum from Greece to Serbia via Macedonia had the biggest repercussions. Observers and commentators calculated that the quantities getting smuggled are not nearly enough for Serbia to make light of the embargo. The emphasis is on petroleum, but the report that Serbia was exporting ammunition to the United States also had a rather large repercussion, as did the fact that all the competent authorities in Austria issued permits for transport of war material across the state. More recently, so we hear, Serbia has deigned to export weapons to Romania, Russia, and China, where it is selling them at a lower price than on the markets of those countries.

The dealing in other goods, traveling by all possible and impossible routes and business channels, is a bit in the background. But the proposed system of export control could "put the squeeze" on precisely those transactions.

Unless we follow the popular rule that the easiest thing is to point one's finger at someone, calculating that one way or another newspapers are used the very next day to

wash windows, it is difficult to find firms, private or socially owned, which can be proven to have been importing and reselling various goods in shady markets—whether we are talking about kalashnikovs, jam, or Pampers. It is still more difficult to tie together all the threads of the story about how, with whom, and under whose protection they are doing this. In well-informed circles, whatever that means, they know or at least have heard of this or that firm managing to make big money sending trailer trucks by certain incredible routes "over half the globe" to regions hungry for everything.

NEDELJNJA DALMACIJA has published a quite ambitious report about the extent to which the embargo is being evaded; among other things, the article explains that Macedonia is involved in the delivery of weapons to Serbia with the "full knowledge and consent of Kiro Gligorov." It also says that "at the Serbian-Macedonian border tank trailers are unhooked from trucks with Skoplje and Ohrid license plates and hooked to trucks with license plates from Belgrade, Beli Manastir, Vukovar, and even Slovenia. The name of the owner is not written on any truck, and the accompanying documents state the purchasers to be West European firms owned or coowned by persons of Serbian nationality." Macedonia has also been "purchasing petroleum from Slovenia for a long time now. More than 60 percent of the petroleum purchased in this way ends up in Serbia. That petroleum is mainly procured in Lendava. Makpetrol and certain private operators registered before the war in Croatia and B-H are buying unrealistically large quantities of petroleum on the spot market in their own name and in the name of third parties.... Thus, by no means negligible quantities of petroleum are purchased in Venezuela, Panama, Mexico, Zimbabwe, and China. It should also be mentioned as a curiosity that even one Croatian firm for petroleum imports, exports, and trade is doing business with Macedonia.... The seller or middleman in the transaction obtains about 20 percent of the price realized."

World agencies are, on the other hand, reporting stories like the one about the Dutch truck drivers who said that their employers, threatening that they would fire them, have been forcing them to pick up or drop off goods in Serbia.

And thus Macedonia, Greece, Zimbabwe, Slovenia, Austria, China, the Netherlands.... The reports, announcements, stories, and testimony about the violation of the embargo could already fill a thick file whose careful reading would probably allow one to figure out the scheme. But just as an example—the statistics indicate that since the introduction of the embargo transit through Hungary (which was criticized for breaking the embargo on its borders) to Macedonia and Bosnia has grown between fourfold and fivefold.

Tudjman Talks With UN Representative Discussed

92BA1414D Zagreb NOVI VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 6 Sep 92 p 5

[HINA article: "The UNPROFOR Must Respect the Vance Peace Plan"]

[Text] Zagreb—It has been announced from the Office of the President of the Republic that on Saturday in the villa "Zagorje," Dr. Franjo Tudjman, president of the Republic of Croatia, received Marrack Goulding, assistant secretary general of the United Nations responsible for peacekeeping operations, whose entourage included General Satish Nambiar, chief commander of the UNPROFOR [UN Protective Force], Cedric Thornberry, director for civil affairs, and Brigadier General Maurice Baril, military adviser to the United Nations.

Marrack Goulding reported to President Tudjman on his visit to the areas under UN protection and on the talks he conducted in Sarajevo and Belgrade. In the meeting, according to the press release, there was discussion of the speediest return of the exiles and of ways in which such a return would be performed. There was also discussion of protection of returnees in the areas under UN protection. The UNPROFOR, it goes on to say, has begun to evaluate and ascertain those places to which those driven out might immediately return.

As for the Chetnik rebels, preventing life from returning to normal and liberation of transportation routes, the Croatian side vigorously demanded that the UNPROFOR perform its task consistent with the Vance Plan because the Republic of Croatia cannot tolerate much longer the situation in which the Chetnik rebels are paralyzing the economic life of the entire state, the press release says. There was also talk about ways of opening up transportation routes and of monitoring entries and exits from the zone under UN protection on the limited-access highway between Zagreb and Slavonski Brod, of problems related to the Maslenica bridge, the supply of water and electricity to Zadar and Dalmatia, the Peruca dam, and the work of the so-called joint commissions related to those problems.

The press release goes on to say that the Croatian side emphasized that up to now it has shown great patience and tolerance, but it will not be able to put up with such a state much longer. Certain specific steps must be taken in the very near future because the crisis will deepen still more, the press release states.

The last topic of conversation was withdrawal of the JA [Yugoslav Army] from the region south of Dubrovnik, and the Serbian and Montenegrin sides are committing a flagrant violation of the Vance Plan, emphasizes the press release issued by the Office of the President. Marrack Goulding, assistant secretary general, agreed with that assessment and emphasized that he had expressed his opinion to that effect to Mr. Panic, adding that he would be conveying all his observations and

conclusions to UN Secretary General Butrus Butrus-Ghali, who will be informing the UN Security Council of this in his next report.

In addition to President Tudjman, other participants in the talks were Dr. Jure Radic, head of the Office of the President of the Republic; Dr. Mate Granic and Ivan Milas, deputy prime ministers; Ministers Gojko Susak and Ivica Mudrinic; Branko Salaj, Croatian ambassador in Paris; Corps General Antun Tus, chief of the General Staff of the Croatian Army; Milan Djukic, president of the SNS [Serbian National Party] and a deputy in the Croatian Assembly; and Dr. Zeljko Matic, the president's foreign policy adviser.

[Box, p 5]

Report on the Visit

Zagreb—The news office of UNPROFOR in Zagreb has issued the following press release:

"Marrack Goulding, under secretary of the United Nations for peacekeeping operations, is completing his tour of five sectors comprising operations areas of the UNPROFOR. He first visited the main headquarters of UNPROFOR in Sector East in Erdut, where he talked to Colonel Aleksandr Kremchenko, commander of the sector. After that, the plan was for him to meet representatives of local authorities from Knin. Goulding then traveled to Belgrade, where he met with President Slobodan Milosevic and Prime Minister Milan Panic.

"In Sarajevo, Goulding visited the main headquarters of that sector and the French, Egyptian, and Ukrainian battalions. Following the report that he received from the sector commander, Brig. Gen. Husein Ali Abdel Razek and the battalion commanders at all locations, he visited an artillery position under supervision of military observers of the United Nations. He also met with President Alija Izetbegovic and in the Lukavica Garrison with Dr. Radovan Karadzic. Goulding talked to them about the progress of UNPROFOR in carrying out the mandate. Both sides pledged to Goulding that they would not use water and electricity as a weapon of war and agreed that electricity and water would be restored to Sarajevo.

"Marrack Goulding put pressure on both sides to ensure that forces under their control cease aggressive attacks on the UNPROFOR, whose soldiers have suffered an intolerable number of casualties in recent weeks. He also informed them of the recent response of the Security Council and the recommendation of the London conference, which includes a broadening of the UNPROFOR mandate and its reinforcement in order to ensure protection of convoys carrying humanitarian aid. Both sides responded affirmatively to this proposal.

"As for continuation of the London conference, Goulding called upon Karadzic to furnish the necessary information on sites where heavy weapons of the Serbs from B-H should be concentrated. Karadzic said that he would furnish that information in the next two days.

"During the mission, Goulding was accompanied by Gen. Satish Nambiar, commander of UNPROFOR, Cedric Thornberry, director for civil affairs, and Brig. Gen. Maurice Baril, military adviser."

Army's Missile Capabilities Assessed

92BA1415D Zagreb NOVI VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 7 Sep 92 p 18

[Article by Fran Visnar, NOVI VJESNIK military commentator: "Will a Missile War Over Slavonia Be Next?"]

[Text] Foreign military and intelligence observers are most interested at the moment in whether Croatia, constantly exposed to horrible artillery and rocket-artillery strikes in the region of Slavonski Brod, has really managed to obtain missiles such as, or similar to, those being used by the Serbs? If it has, those same sources are interested in the scope of the Croatian response and which Serbian targets it will hit. For several months now, there have been various assessments circulating about the Croatian strength in tactical missiles. Mention is made of the Brazilian SS-60 300-mm long-range multibarrel rocket launchers, which allegedly have managed to reach Croatian ports in spite of the embargo (there has been no documented confirmation whatsoever that would indicate the truthfulness of this information).

But it can be said that the Brazilian Astros-2 system (the SS-60 missiles are a part of that system), along with the U.S. MLRS [multiple rocket system], is among the best in the world. The Astros-2 has the same launcher (an armored six-metric-ton wheeled tractor) with missiles of three different calibers: 127, 180, and 300 mm. The Astros-2 has commands for firing by means of radar (the setup depends on the customer's financial capabilities) or the conventional cannon-firing technology on the basis of ground or air observation and meteorological data.

All the components of this up-to-date and effective missile weapon are installed under the same chassis of the armored vehicle (launcher, loader, controls, radar mount, and miniature workshop to maintain mechanical and electronic systems).

Some Western sources judge that the Croats have perhaps procured tactical surface-to-surface Luna M tactical missiles of Russian origin; they were allegedly obtained from the former GDR or Hungary (in the written-off warehouses of the former East Germany, there are 22 launchers for Luna/Frog 7's). At the same time, Hungary's armament still includes 18 9P113M2 launchers, which fire the 9-meter-long R-65 Luna missiles, which weigh two and a half tonnes (manufactured in the USSR in 1965), and 9N18F warheads with a conventional charge (the system's minimum range is 15 km and the maximum 65 to 72 km).

In any case, Hungary has committed itself to destroying all 18 Luna/Frog 7 launchers and another nine launchers for the more powerful Scud missiles, together with some 100 operational missiles. The same procedure is being followed in Germany.

Along with the Luna tactical missiles, there are also guesses that Croatia possesses several multibarrel rocket launchers with 40 launching barrels from Russia and Czechoslovakia (the 122-mm BM-21 and M1972 systems), which have a range of 20.5 km (minimum 11 km) and can strike most of the Serbian positions on the other side of the Sava. What is quite reliable is the fact that the Croatian military industry has for some time now had in series production good-quality multibarrel rocket launchers based on the well-known 128-mm caliber.

But its mechanical engineering capabilities and total factory capacity also allow Croatia to develop on its own small-caliber (122-mm) multibarrel missile systems, but also those stronger than 128 mm (180 mm, 262 mm, and 300 mm), and to have four, six, eight, 12, 16, 32, or 40 launching tubes—depending on the needs and range (minimum range 11 km, average range 20 km, long range between 30 and 60 km, which means that even Banja Luka is targeted).

With weapons like that which it makes itself, Croatia can engage the Serbs in a limited game as to the balance of power and fear. Croatian missile systems need not even open fire constantly. Even their very presence, and the opponent already believes that Croatian missile batteries have taken up launching positions (regardless of what systems are involved), means that the Croats can accurately respond to unselective Serbian missile and artillery strikes.

Incidentally, the war of the cities in the exhausting conflict between Iraq and Iran ceased as soon as Iran established equilibrium. Iraq halted the missile attacks on Iranian civilian targets the very day when it itself began to receive serious counterstrikes (Tehran had purchased the necessary missiles in China and North Korea). And more than anyone, Croatia has the right to legitimate (missile) self-defense.

Government Changes in Serbian Krajina Viewed

92BA1415H Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 4 Sep 92 p 6

[Unattributed article: "New Changes in the Krajina Government"]

[Text] Knin, 3 Sep—Jovo Kablar was removed from the post of deputy prime minister in a meeting held Tuesday in Vukovar by decision of the government of the Republic of Serbian Krajina [RSK]. That same decision also dismissed Petar Bukarica, assistant minister for trade and tourism, and then Slavko Prnjic, head of the government office in Belgrade, and Dusan Orlovic, chief of the Krajina state security service.

Although the government session was held two days ago, these changes in the Krajina government, which began with the removal of Dusan Veizovic, were learned of only today from circles close to it in Knin. No reasons were given for the dismissals or removals except that Dusan Orlovic's departure from the post of chief of the Krajina state security service is related to the recent decision to dissolve it temporarily.

Diplomatic Relations Established With Slovenia

92P20409A Ljubljana DELO in Slovene 18 Sep 92 p 1

[Article by "G.M.": "Ambassador Matija Malesic Presented Credentials to President Tudjman"]

[Text] Zagreb, 17 Sep—Today Matija Malesic, ambassador of the Republic of Slovenia in Croatia, presented his credentials to President Franjo Tudjman in Zagreb. Thus, Slovenia and Croatia have established diplomatic relations. It is still not clear, however, whether Dr. Zdravko Tomac, the proposed Croatian ambassador, will arrive in Slovenia soon. The arrival of the Slovene ambassador received the full attention of the Croatian media, which cited his statement that Slovenia desires good relations with its neighboring republic.

At the reception in the Villa Zagorje, President Tudjman stressed that the establishment of diplomatic relations is of exceptional importance for both countries. He said that Croatia and Slovenia had jointly walked out of the unnatural Yugoslav community, adding that Croatia wishes to develop the best of relations with Slovenia and that unresolved issues must be settled to the satisfaction of both. Tudjman promised that the Slovene ambassador will enjoy the complete trust of the Croatian president and authorities.

The Croatian Government, led by Prime Minister Hrvoje Sarinic, also discussed Slovene-Croatian relations today. In its public statement it said that the bilateral cooperation agreement signed in February should be revised to reflect changed conditions in both countries. A Slovene-Croatian meeting at the highest level is to take place in Ljubljana soon. The Croatian press is asking why Dr. Zdravko Tomac has not yet been appointed Croatian ambassador to Slovenia.

Founder of New Croatian Party Explains Aims

92BA1418C Ljubljana DNEVNIK in Slovene 3 Sep 92 p 24

[Interview with Nikola Rozankovic, founder of the Croatian Liberation Movement, by Toni Peric; place and date not given: "Minority Status of Croats?"—first paragraph is DNEVNIK introduction]

[Text] Koper, 3 Sep—The Croats in Slovenia are establishing one more party, the Croatian Liberation Movement [HOP]; the HOP wants to get rid of political "chameleons" and intends to take over the members of the HDZ [Croatian Democratic Community].

The HDZ's branches in Slovenia will be joined in the next few days by one more party representing the Croats living in Slovenia. "The HOP is the only serious and nonspeculative organization that will support the Croats in Slovenia," we were told upon the party's establishment by Nikola Rozankovic of Koper,the initiator of its establishment.

Rozankovic claims that the HOP is the oldest Croatian emigre party, the headquarters of which is in Canada.

[Rozankovic] In the HDZ, I was not able to fulfill my desires, i.e., the promotion of true coexistence between Slovenes and Croats, and on the other hand, my chief purpose (and the purpose of the HOP) is to support the Croats in Slovenia spiritually, politically, and materially. The HOP is an opposition party with a right-wing orientation; in the elections and otherwise as long as the war lasts, we will support the HDZ and Dr. Tudjman, and then we will follow our own course.

[Peric] The words "liberation movement" do not seem appropriate in Slovenia. Whom will you liberate and from what?

[Rozankovic] We will liberate Croats from all sorts of political chameleons and those who quickly and successfully turn their coats according to the wind.

[Peric] Your purpose is also to ensure minority status for the Croats in Slovenia.

[Rozankovic] The official statistics say that there are 54,000 Croats in Slovenia, but we know that there are around 90,000 of them. The Croats in Slovenia, specifically here in Koper, for instance, have had a secondary school in which the famous poet Vladimir Nazor to teach. Today, however, the Italians in Slovenia, of whom there are comparably fewer, have secondary schools, elementary schools, television, and radio.

[Peric] Between the lines, this also means at least one seat in the Slovene parliament. There will undoubtedly be many more disputes over this. Will the new Croatian party in Slovenia advocate having anything change in Croatia with respect to Slovenes and Slovenia?

[Rozankovic] Of course. There are too many people like Starman on both sides who are harmful, and our only consolation is that their policy does not have a future. The HOP will advocate that the Slovenes in Croatia should have exactly the same rights and possibilities for coexistence and advancement as the Croats in Slovenia. Coexistence and understanding are what we will promote and strengthen in both states.

Federal

Panic Discusses Foreign Policy Aspirations

LD2309175792 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1527 GMT 23 Sep 92

[Text] Moscow, Sept 23 (TANJUG)—Yugoslavia has no closer foreign-policy partner than Russia, Yugoslav Premier Milan Panic said in an interview to the MOSCOW NEWS weekly.

Yugoslavia has "also reached a high degree of mutual understanding with China," Panic said in the interview, published on Wednesday [23 September].

The prime minister said that he does not favour the [words indistinct], but he did not exclude the possibility for "Yugoslavia to join in economic union with Russia and other former Soviet republics."

"I see myself as an anti-communist, but I have always had great sympathy towards the Russian people," he told the MOSCOW NEWS.

Panic said he would leave politics the very day that peace is established in the Balkans.

"I want to build close economic ties with all Yugoslavia's neighbours - Croats, Slovenes, Macedonians, Albanians, Greeks, Bulgarians and others. My secret wish is to unite all Balkan countries into a single union. When I achieve this I will hand over the reins to young [words indistinct]," Panic said.

Draskovic, Seselj Comment on UN Decision

AU2309200292

[Editorial report] Belgrade RTB Television Network in Serbo-Croatian at 1730 GMT on 23 September carries within its regular 65-minute newscast comments and reaction by various politicians to the UN General Assembly decision to exclude Yugoslavia from the work of the United Nations. Among the more prominent politicians commenting on the decision are Vuk Draskovic, leader of the Serbian Renewal Movement, and Vojislav Seselj, president of the Serbian Radical Party.

According to Draskovic, "only those who have been surprised by various things in our country and abroad in the last five or six years are surprised by our expulsion [iskljucenje] from the United Nations. Among those who are surprised are the proponents of the policy and strategy that cannot even foresee today what will follow tomorrow, let alone what will follow in several months or several years.

"Only a few days ago they attacked Mr. Milan Panic with sticks and stones for what he said in Moscow. Today, they are attacking him for what happened yesterday. Today, they advocate the idea that it is not in the interest of our state to be a member of the United Nations at all. They recommend that Serbia and Montenegro should live in a cage. This policy has cast shame on our history, culture, tradition, diplomacy, on everything.

"Fortunately, last night the world did not expel Serbia and Montenegro from its ranks, but the policy of the Serbian president. When this policy falls, the wire on the cage of death, poverty, and hatred to which we were driven and locked will also break."

In Seselj's view, "the expulsion [iskljucenje] of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia from the General Assembly is yet another dangerous precedent leading the present world organization toward the disappearance from the world scene. All the big powers want us to reapply for admission and to blackmail us with various conditions. They also want this unpleasant precedent to subside a bit. We must not agree to this and must not seek inclusion in the United Nations again.

"On the other hand, Milan Panic held talks with foreign ministers of the five permanent members of the Security Council and, according to all reports, all of them supported him, all of them paid him respect, all of them gave him promises, which means that they support Panic but are against Yugoslavia. They do not support Panic as head of the Yugoslav government, but as a traitor to Yugoslavia who will conclude their business for them here in Belgrade.

"The third important thing that happened there is the fact Panic immediately, on the spot, asked for readmission to the United Nations. He would not have been allowed to do that without a prior decision by the Federal Assembly.

"Therefore, Prime Minister Panic is again working as in the past, he is violating the constitution and the positive legal regulations of this country, thus demonstrating that he cannot retain the position as head of the Federal Government."

Cosic Comments on Problems, Dangers Faced by State

LD2309160292 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0931 GMT 23 Sep 92

[Text] Podgorica, 23 Sep (TANJUG)—The Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (FRY) is yet to become a modern, efficient, democratic state, FRY President Dobrica Cosic said in an interview published by the POBJEDA of Titograd today.

There are three states within its framework, three state authorities out of step with one another, three spheres of competence that often conflict with one another. The issue of competence in the functioning of the federal state has not been resolved in a functional way.

Cosic went on to note that the next constitutional reform was expected to provide constitutional-legal foundations for developing Yugoslavia into a modern federal state, which, as he put it, Yugoslavia cannot be described as at the moment.

The FRY president drew attention to the dangers of secessionist and particularist tendencies in strong evidence within both the Serbian and Montenegrin opposition and in some of the political concepts advocated by the ruling parties. "I hope that the desire of the people of Serbia and Montenegro for a common state will eventually win."

Perhaps this victory is not so near. It is being constantly postponed not just by the opposition's political activities but also by inertia among the ruling parties and the existing authorities. All of these factors are yet to show adequate readiness to cooperate comprehensively in creating a common, democratic state of our citizens, Cosic said.

Speaking about the attitude of the Croatian authorities toward the proposals for resolving the issue of Prevlaka, Cosic stressed: "We died for Dalmatia. We died for Albania and, because we refused to share Dalmatia with Italy, we rejected the London pact although it granted us enormous rights. Only the Serb Army could stop the Italian Army at Rijeka and Susak, and only Serbia, as a victorious country in the war, could return Dalmatia to Croatia. And it was only through the national liberation struggle, in which the Serbs dominated, that Croatia could be reunited with Istria."

"And now that same Croatia, that Croatia of greater-Croatian aspirations and of the ideology of Ante Starcevic, Radic, Bakaric, Tito, Miroslav Krleza, and Franjo Tudjman—and not just him, but the entire Croatian intelligentsia—is not prepared to give the Montenegrin people several hectares of bare rocks and stones but has been blackmailing it and threatening its survival, torturing it, and fomenting hatred and anxiety. And it is the Croats who are in the best position to answer why things are as they are," Cosic said.

In reference to the demands for a special status for Sandzak, Cosic said that the special status idea is one of the most absurd ideas put forward by the CSCE and the world factors that have been interfering in our affairs.

I had the opportunity to discuss that with the CSCE representatives. In the first place, they do not know what Sandzak is. They do not understand that Sandzak is a military-administrative region, which existed only in Turkey under the Turkish rule; that Sandzak cannot have any political status at all because, in the Republic of Serbia, only three Muslim municipalities have a Muslim majority. These include two tiny and insignificant ones: Tutin and Sjenica. On the entire vast territory of the former Turkish Sandzak, the Serbs, or rather the Montenegrins, represent the majority, Cosic stressed.

President Cosic went on to stress that Muslims are a deceived and very unlucky nation. They were deceived by the Titoist ideology and rule, and later by the Party of Democratic Action [Stranka Demokratske Akcije-SDA] led by Alija Izetbegovic.

The process of the sobering-up of the Muslims from this bloody trance into which they have been pushed by their leaders will be accompanied by a collective despair and a long period of resignation. They missed their historic chance to live with a kindred nation in a democratic and secular state. My imagination does not go far enough to see Serbs, Muslims, and Croats coexisting again for as long as there live the children and people who can remember this horrible Bosnian war, Cosic said.

Referring to "ethnic cleansing," about which the world speaks so much today and of which Serbia and Montenegro are being accused, Cosic stressed that ethnic cleansing was started by Croatia. Franjo Tudjman's party is an advocate of the policy and practice of "ethnic cleansing," Cosic said.

"You clearly remember when hundreds of Serbian houses in Dubrovnik and all of Dalmatia were mined two or three years ago. Serbs were also expelled from Split, Sibenik, and Zadar. A few days ago, I read in the press that about 28,000 Serbs had been expelled from Karlovac and some 50,000 from Zagreb. The POLITIKA newspaper wrote recently that about 170 villages in Slavonia have been demolished and burned down," the FRY president recalled.

This is, Cosic said, a genocidal "cleansing" of Croatia of the Serbian "hordes," as "the father of the homeland" of Croats, Ante Starcevic, called the Serbs. This "ethnic cleansing" has been carried out by the Croatian authorities and Croatian Army. Croatian regiments have been perpetrating massacres against an innocent Serbian population. This "ethnic cleansing" still goes on today, this time in Bosnia-Hercegovina.

"These horrendous crimes are being carried out by both the Serbs and Muslims. It is not important who has killed more people or burned more houses. What matters is that everyone has been killing and burning. It is understandable that there is reason for the world and Europe to be appalled. But the tragedy for the present- day world's moral conscience lies in the fact that shocks sensible men—that in most cases, only the Serbs, or mainly they, are being accused of "ethnic cleansing," that they are the only culprits, and that no one, nobody, wishes to discover reality. Without the truth, this evil cannot be tamed nor peace achieved," President Cosic believes.

Serbia

Assembly To Discuss Government Reshuffle

AU2409085792 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 0800 GMT 24 Sep 92

[Text] After the summer break, the Assembly of Serbia will resume work with a new extraordinary session. Here is a report by Zoran Vaskovic:

[Begin recording] According to the agenda, the deputies will first discuss the proposal for a reshuffle of the

republican government. Prime Minister Radoman Bozovic is expected to propose some new government members after certain ministers resigned or accepted another post. We have learned unofficially who the candidates for vacant ministerial posts are. Jovan Radic, former chairman of the Vojvodina Executive Council, has been proposed new minister of labor and social issues. Vladimir Cvetkovic, former basketball player, has been proposed for the post of minister of youth and sports, that is, as replacement for another basketball ace, Dragan Kicanovic who resigned.

After Nikola Sainovic went over to the Federal Government, the post of minister for energetics has remained vacant. We have learned, also unofficially, that this post will be added to the one held by the present minister for energy, Velimir Mihajlovic. These are only some proposals that are going to be discussed within the first point of the agenda.

In the continuation of the session, the deputies are going to discuss proposals for amendments to the Serbian Constitution. These amendments should enable extraordinary elections for deputies to the Serbian Assembly and for president of the Republic of Serbia to be held.

There is one more legal condition for elections, and that is a citizens' referendum on constitutional amendments. The government suggests that a referendum be held on 4 October. If a majority of voters taking part in the referendum on 4 October vote in favor, the chairman of the Republican Assembly will set a date for elections. One should say that not fewer than 45 days and not more than three months may pass between the date when the elections are decided upon and the day when they are held. Therefore, this would be the second point of the agenda.

The beginning of the Assembly is scheduled for 1000, but, as a rule, the sessions begin some 10-15 minutes late. [end recording]

Regional Leader of Serbian Radical Party Arrested

AU2409075392 Paris AFP in English 0421 GMT 24 Sep 92

[Text] Belgrade, Sept 24 (AFP)—The regional boss of the ultra-nationalist extreme rightwing Serbian Radical Party in Nis, a town 220 kilometers (130 miles south east of Belgrade) was arrested on Wednesday [23 September] on charges of buying and stocking arms and explosives, the daily POLITIKA reported Thursday.

Branislav Bakic was the second prominent member of the SRP to be arrested in two days.

On Tuesday police detained Milika "Ceko" Dacevic, head of the Montenegro branch of the party. He was arrested in the Montenegran town of Pljevlja on a charge of plotting an armed uprising.

Ethnic tensions have escalated latterly in Pljevlja where shops and other property owned by Moslems have been blown up and the Moslems submitted to "harassment" by para-military forces.

Socialists Comment on Prime Minister

92BA1414A Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 8 Sep 92 p 10

[Unattributed article: "Emperor, Plantation Owner, and Merchant"]

[Text] The meeting of the SPS [Socialist Party of Serbia] deputy caucus, held 31 August, lasted more than two hours. A few minutes after 1100 hours, when the session of the chambers of the Federal Assembly was to begin, Jugoslav Kostic, president of the Citizens Chamber and SPS member, announced to the deputies in the large chamber that the SPS deputy caucus wanted to meet and debate certain issues so that the chamber's session would be more efficient.

Kostic called upon the other deputies to allow the Socialists, because they are so numerous, to hold their meeting in that chamber, and in response to the question of how long that would last, he replied "about 20 minutes."

As soon as the doors of the large chamber were closed, which involved a zealous "purging of non-Socialists," Zarija Martinovic, leader of the deputy caucus, announced that the discussion would be limited, that the "meeting would last as long as necessary," and that the Chamber would meet afterward.

Martinovic explained that the caucus was called because some deputies believed that following the London conference an assessment should be made as to whether the Government of the FRY [Federal Republic of Yugoslavia] has taken positions consistent in all respects with the resolutions of the Citizens Chamber. Deputies of other deputy caucuses are putting the same questions, Martinovic said.

Some deputies immediately proposed an agreement on the agenda of the meeting of the Chamber, and then Margit Savovic moved that the agenda be extended by 12 items of the federal prime minister, stating that the delegation in London had no positions on them and no one knows what was adopted there.

Milos Bojovic judged that that would serve the purpose, but that the situation was extremely serious, and he therefore called for both chambers to meet separately at the earliest date to examine the report from London.

Certain deputies moved that the report be submitted immediately, that same day, but Goran Percevic pointed out that the deputies still had not received the nomination of judges of the Constitutional Court, that election of the judges of the Constitutional Court should be

removed from the Chamber's agenda, and that the deputy caucus should examine the list of judges when it is presented.

Impulse and Order

Recalling that he was a member of the group to draft resolutions concerning the London conference, Brana Crncevic said that Prime Minister Panic had made serious departures, that he had conducted separate talks with Tudjman, and had agreed to recognize Croatia within AVNOJ [Antifascist Council of the National Liberation of Yugoslavia] borders, while they would recognize us when that is done by the international community.

"Because Panic is conducting some policy of his own and we do not know where it will end, I am expressing a fear that Panic will do what he intended," Crncevic said.

"It is not a question of our electing judges of the Constitutional Court, but of confidence in Panic and the government," he added and moved debate on a question of confidence, the vote to be taken in three days, as stated in the Constitution. "No confidence would mean that we would receive a few flaps on the international scene, but confidence would mean that we are placing the destiny of the state and the people in his hands, that we are counting on a man whose actions we are unable to calculate," Crncevic said.

Crncevic reproached Panic for having asked the president of the republic not to deliver a speech in the London conference, offering to lend him some 10 minutes. It was also insulting to that delegation, in Crncevic's opinion, that Cosic was only a member and only performed the function of introducing Panic.

Panic has also been talking with Rugova and promised him that he would open the university, which in itself is nothing terrible, but what will come after that, Crncevic wondered.

He also warned that the deputies bear great responsibility for this. "We have a majority in the Assembly, and I would put my name on the list of 20 deputies seeking recall," Crncevic said, adding: "Instead of a national hero, what we have gotten is a plantation owner who is ready to sell off everything he considers to be his estate."

Mentioning Panic's possible dream of being the kind of president we have had, Crncevic said that with Panic or without him we will not be in a worse position than we are now.

Crncevic as a writer said of Panic that he is indescribable: "He himself does not know what he will do, he is a man who acts on impulse or issues orders."

"I am not capable of being a deputy in an assembly which has been so humiliated by one man," Crncevic said.

Stroke of the Pen

Borisav Jovic said that it was in the interest of the country that the government have a stable base of support and that this is the government which we elected. The result of the work done by the entire delegation and of the London conference need not be negative, it could even be constructive (in Jovic's opinion, this should be assessed).

The issue here, he said, is something else again, that the prime minister, whom we elected and to whom we gave a platform, has departed from it. It is an indisputable fact that he offered Tudjman recognition of Croatia in its present borders, which would signify betrayal of the Serbian people. Panic asked the delegation to sign such a document, and this was not done only because the other members vigorously opposed.

Jovic listed the charges against Panic, that he undermined the president of the republic, that he had talks with Rugova, that he had behaved in a demeaning manner toward the president of the Republic of Serbia.

"The essential political issue," Jovic said, "is that with a stroke of the pen he destroyed everything the Serbian people had won by fighting."

"I think Crncevic is right: I favor a debate on a show of no confidence. He has to be responsible to parliament, otherwise he will be an emperor who can do what he likes here, otherwise we are not the incumbent party," Borisav Jovic said.

Offering additional information about the London conference and also mentioning that he would accept any conclusion of the deputy caucus, Dr. Oskar Kovac said that the conference is a big performance and that the essential documents very few people have seen ("Only Vlatko Jovanovic and I have read them all"). In Kovac's assessment, this was least of all a conference on Yugoslavia. Yugoslavia was not accepted there, Cosic and Panic were invited as guests, while the rest were presidents and prime ministers.

This was a conference about the dispute in B-H [Bosnia-Hercegovina], and the constructive result is that Izetbegovic has been forced to accept negotiations with the others.

"It is my impression," Kovac said, "that all the participants from the Yugoslav state have their own sponsors who do not intend to leave the agreements to us, yet we would easily agree because of economic interests. The conference attempted to be a conference on Serbia, and here the president of the republic was up to the mark, insisting that the delegation leave the conference so long as that document was being circulated.

"The conference was indefinite concerning Yugoslavia; the documents contain no guarantee that it will be included in the proceedings in Geneva.

"We must hold to the position that a conference on Yugoslavia which does not include Yugoslavia has no prospect of success," Kovac said, adding that the work of the working groups in Geneva makes no sense so long as the sanctions are in effect (for example, opening the main highway, trade, and the like, when the sanctions prohibit precisely that).

"We opposed continuation of the role of the famous and notorious Badinter Commission. Panic intervened, but that was not accepted," Kovac said.

Glasses and Vandals

The delegate who asked for the floor after Kovac favored his removal, but he wondered what this would mean in the world. Reproaching Panic for having mentioned the shattering of a glass in the previous session of the Assembly, the delegate said: "We do not throw glasses even on the street, much less in the parliament. Surely we are not vandals to that extent!" The delegate expressed concern for the bloody things we have achieved so far, at least in the krajinas.

The next speaker observed that the anxieties we experienced before the vote in favor of Panic are coming true: "In 100 days, he could do greater evil unless we put a stop to it and that is why I am in favor of putting a question of confidence, and he listed the reasons—from London to the fact that he (Panic) had begun to find sins in us (the plan on ethnic cleansing when there is no ethnic cleansing)."

The question of supreme authority rests on this point, the deputy warned, finding that Panic had done everything he had done by offering things for sale, and we could have sold those things even without Panic.

One of the deputies said that quite certainly there are sufficient elements for a lack of confidence in the government, and he mentioned that Milan Panic never would have been nominated if he had been asked, because there are at least five good candidates for that office right in the room.

Brana Crncevic said at one point: "I guarantee you that he (Panic) will try to get the Assembly dissolved in the next three days. We have enough time, let us just see whether there is enough political will here to remove him."

And Borisav Jovic again spoke up to say that a country which today is not capable of debating confidence in the government is not a country.

Socialists' Offer of Electoral System Rejected

92BA1415F Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 7 Sep 92 p 3

[Article by S. Zelenbaba: "Offer of the Socialists Rejected"]

[Text] Belgrade—The SPO [Serbian Renewal Movement] has "seen through" the intention of the Socialists to offer a "compromise alternative" in the federal roundtable to resolve the current dispute over the model of the election system. This can be concluded from yesterday's statement, which we were given by Vuk Draskovic, president of the SPO, in answer to the question of whether the SPO Main Committee took up on Saturday the "last offer" of the SPS [Socialist Party of Serbia] to make the election system proportional—as demanded by the entire opposition—but with Serbia and Montenegro divided into several electoral units (the opposition is demanding that each republic be a single electoral unit)?

"I am aware of that version of a proportional election system," Draskovic said. "It is precisely a version of the majority system dressed up in the clothes of a proportional system. We feel that consensus has been reached, and that is a proportional system with which literally all the parties agree except the SPS. On Tuesday, then, our delegation will offer them three possibilities, and let them choose: Either they will accept what everyone accepts, or they will boycott the elections, (we will tell them that the entire world will accept those elections without them), or let them hold the elections themselves," the SPO president said.

Of the points made in Saturday's meeting of the Main Committee, which lasted several hours in the Sava Center, Draskovic emphasized that the SPO is in practical terms ready for elections at all levels. ("I myself was pleasantly surprised that election programs have been spelled out even at the lowest level. There is no village or hamlet in which the SPO has not X-rayed the problems and offered treatment.")

The SPO, however, is continuing to make its participation in the election contingent upon legislation instituting a proportional election system, removal of the blockade on the media, above all the television Bastille, as Vuk calls it, and a fair law on financing political parties.

If the elections are held in November, and if the SPO or DEPOS [Democratic Movement of Serbia], a coalition of parties in which the SPO will participate, should win, Draskovic says that in Serbia even by 1995 there would not be a pension or worker pay envelope in Serbia below 500 German marks a month. He says this was calculated by the economics experts of the SPO. "But there will not be anything until the sanctions are removed and the war is stopped, and that will not happen until the SPO or DEPOS wins the election," Vuk Draskovic is convinced.

In the meeting of the Main Committee, figures were also announced on the party's rating. Draskovic says that the prestige of the SPO has risen very rapidly and that between the St. Vitus' Day congregation and the end of August the Serbian Renewal Movement gained about 70,000 new members. Strong support has also been given to Prime Minister Milan Panic in his showdown with

Milosevic, his fascist satellites, and that mafia and the forces of chaos and the past which Milosevic personified.

The Democratic Party of Serbia [DSS] also held a meeting of its Main Committee on Saturday in the trade union center at which Dr. Vojislav Kostunica, its president, delivered a report on the effort of the party since the founding assembly, which was on 26 June, up to the present time, and draft versions of the program and bylaws of the party were also taken up.

According to DSS spokesman Nebojsa Jankovic (this meeting was also closed to the public, so that newsmen were unable to attend it), the report emphasized that the DSS favors opposing the present system in principle, because—it is felt in the DSS—it cannot be reformed, but must be radically altered. It emphasized that the DSS favors discontinuity with the communist state created in Jajce and favors continuity with lost Serbian statehood.

"This does not mean that the DSS favors automatic restoration of the monarchy," Jankovic explained, "but it is resolutely in favor of the people declaring itself on the form of government in a referendum."

The DSS Main Committee also received a letter from the Office of Prince Alexander asking that the DSS designate its representative to the Crown's Political Council. While reiterating the observation that this does not prejudice the party's position in favor of the monarchist system, Prof. Radoslav Stojanovic, vice president of the DSS, was nominated and unanimously elected to that position.

The problem of the party's registration was also discussed. Protest actions and a fight with all political and legal means were announced in order to alter that decision of the Serbian authorities. Jankovic added that it was clear to everyone in the Main Committee that this is a decision with a political background whose essence lies in the intention to undermine the DEPOS election coalition.

Future of Socialist Party Assessed

92BA1414C Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 8 Sep 92 p 9

[Article by Cvijetin Milivojevic: "The Man Who Was Killed the SPS"]

[Text] If Dr. Ivan Kovacevic, the new spokesman of the SPO [Serbian Renewal Movement], is a good forecaster, the SPS [Socialist Party of Serbia] will fall apart before October at the latest. Some of its members will join the SK-PJ [League of Communists-Movement for Yugoslavia], some will turn toward Seselj's Radicals, and the remainder of the party, which according to official figures numbers 450,000 members, would collectively join the just-registered SDP [Social Democratic Party]....

The public here has been overflowing with similar assessments since the UN sanctions were introduced against Serbia and Montenegro. Perhaps it is only the heightened intensity since the "unsuccessful putsch" against the federal prime minister. Where there is smoke there is always fire—but is there really so much that the Socialists need teams of firefighters?

Disintegration is probably possible, but only at the point when Slobodan Milosevic's charisma is seriously questioned. The fact that no one is contesting him at the moment (neither within the party nor among the so-called dissidents) is sufficient to refute that there will be a "cataclysm of socialism" anytime soon. After all, Milosevic's moves are the essence; the activity of the party is only the (un)democratic form as a cover for his decisions.

The Theater of the Politically Absurd

Both the self-styled "soft" and so-called "hard" line in the SPS have always had, and have even now, understanding and justification for the governmental and ethnic strategy of their leadership. The disputes, which have cropped up in public from time to time, can be divided into two groups: personal or personnel matters and matters in the domain of relations with the opposition. That is why it would be difficult to speak of this kind of rocking back and forth in terms of long-range significance. For example, the resignation of the "hard and conservative" Jovic was not sought by people, God save us, "softer," more liberal, and democratic than he is. Example number two: The chairman of the legislative committee of the republic parliament, Milos Bojovic, who before the debate on Panic was represented as someone who opposed "bringing him down," has never shown in deeds that he "thinks differently" during the two years of his parliamentary activity.

Demands for change are arriving constantly from opstina committees. They are demanding rejuvenation of the officials in the party and government, adaptation of the party program "to the demands of the times."... Although there is less than a month left before the congress, however, those who lead the SPS and Serbia, out of a desire (under pressure) to show the world how ready they are to carry out all the ultimatums—seem to have lost all criteria. Between the constitutional obligation of "protecting Serbs outside Serbia" and radical demands from their own ranks, for example—the SPS is choosing for itself the most ridiculous position, and then in the end simply apologizes for the initiative concerning a vote of no confidence in Panic. At this moment, the SPS faces a choice: to continue to support a segment of its people outside the borders of the FRY [Federal Republic of Yugoslavia] (which would provoke the world even more), or to turn in upon itself, to save Serbia from economic and every other kind of exhaustion, and in this way improve its own prospects in the upcoming election.

While the Land Is Burning

The SPS has been facing this dilemma since back at the beginning of the year, more precisely, from the moment

when it became clear that it was an unfeasible national project at this point for all Serbs to remain in one state. Things are developing in such a way that the Socialists are becoming less and less "hostages to the Serbs from the krajinas," but they are more and more becoming hostages to their previous mistakes and exclusiveness toward their political opponents in Serbia. That is why it is in fact possible that in the Serbian theater of the political absurd the parties, which do not even recognize the federal state, would have the last word in the federal roundtable, and the SPS, which created it in the "co-opted Zabljak constitution," is losing dominant positions in it, and now even has a serious political rival in its own nominee for prime minister (and current prime minister).

It is evident that "while the land burns," the opposition, as it awaits every move of the Socialists "with knives drawn"—is building its opportunities in the election. For instance, even the seemingly clever political maneuvers of the SPS to rejuvenate its own representation at the round table have not been successful; compromise offers with respect to the election system no longer "work." In the showdown of "themselves against all the rest," it turned out that reliance exclusively on the Serbian Radicals was a sword with two edges. Only now is it evident how right those people were who back in the spring demanded that the SPS set a social-democratic course for itself. That is, it would have been less painful if the dogmatic top leadership had been silenced and those who left (to form the Social Democratic Party) or who intend to go had been retained.

The upcoming party congress—although the social-democratic option is alive even today—is at least half a year "late" getting started. For precisely that reason there are at the moment more advocates of a radical incision in the SPS than those who favor "superficial cosmetics." The main reason is that it is still not certain that the SPS's "driving force" (the current president of the republic) will run in the next election. The atmosphere is such that the party's top man (Jovic) has already been "forgotten." But in the SPS that is never certain. Messrs. Bakocevic and Bozovic have already been "forgotten" several times and nothing came of it. It is perhaps best, then, to believe those more sensible people in the top leadership of the incumbent party who (with the observation that the "SPS is still democratic, what kind of internal relations are there in the opposition parties") think that the top leadership of the party will not withdraw unless—if the Panic government should succeed in removing the sanctions—it is forced to indirectly by the Federal Government.

Kosovo

Serbs Remove Albanian Names From Streets, Schools

AU2309184092 Paris AFP in English 1814 GMT 23 Sep 92

[Text] Pristina, Kosovo, Sept 23 (AFP)—Street names in Pristina, the main city of Serbia's predominantly Albanian province of Kosovo, have been "Serbianised", an AFP correspondent here reported Wednesday [23 September].

New street signs using the Serbian (Cyrillic) alphabet have been erected, with transcriptions in Latin script, but all Albanian names have been removed.

The report came after Albanian schoolchildren and their teachers were barred from schools by Serbian police in Kosovo, on their first day of school.

Only Serbian children were allowed to enter, BBC television said Tuesday in a report from the southern Serbian province.

The changing of street names has seen Hajdar Dushi Street become Vojvode Stepe, the name of a Serbian military leader, while Nexhmedin Mustafa Street has been renamed Vase Carapica, after a hero of the Serbian insurrection against Turkish rule.

And a children's playground Gezimi yne, which means "our joy" in Albanian, will now be known as Djurdjevak, or lily of the valley.

Pristina University, which until now had no other name, has been baptised Dositej Obradovic, after a Serbian scholar.

The developments come against a background of mounting international concern about the spread of fighting in Bosnia-Hercegovina across the Balkans.

Speaking on Tuesday in Athens, Lord Owen, co-chairman of the permanent international peace conference on Yugoslavia, said: "The problem in Kosovo is of top priority since a confrontation there would run a great risk of engulfing the Balkans in a more devastating war."